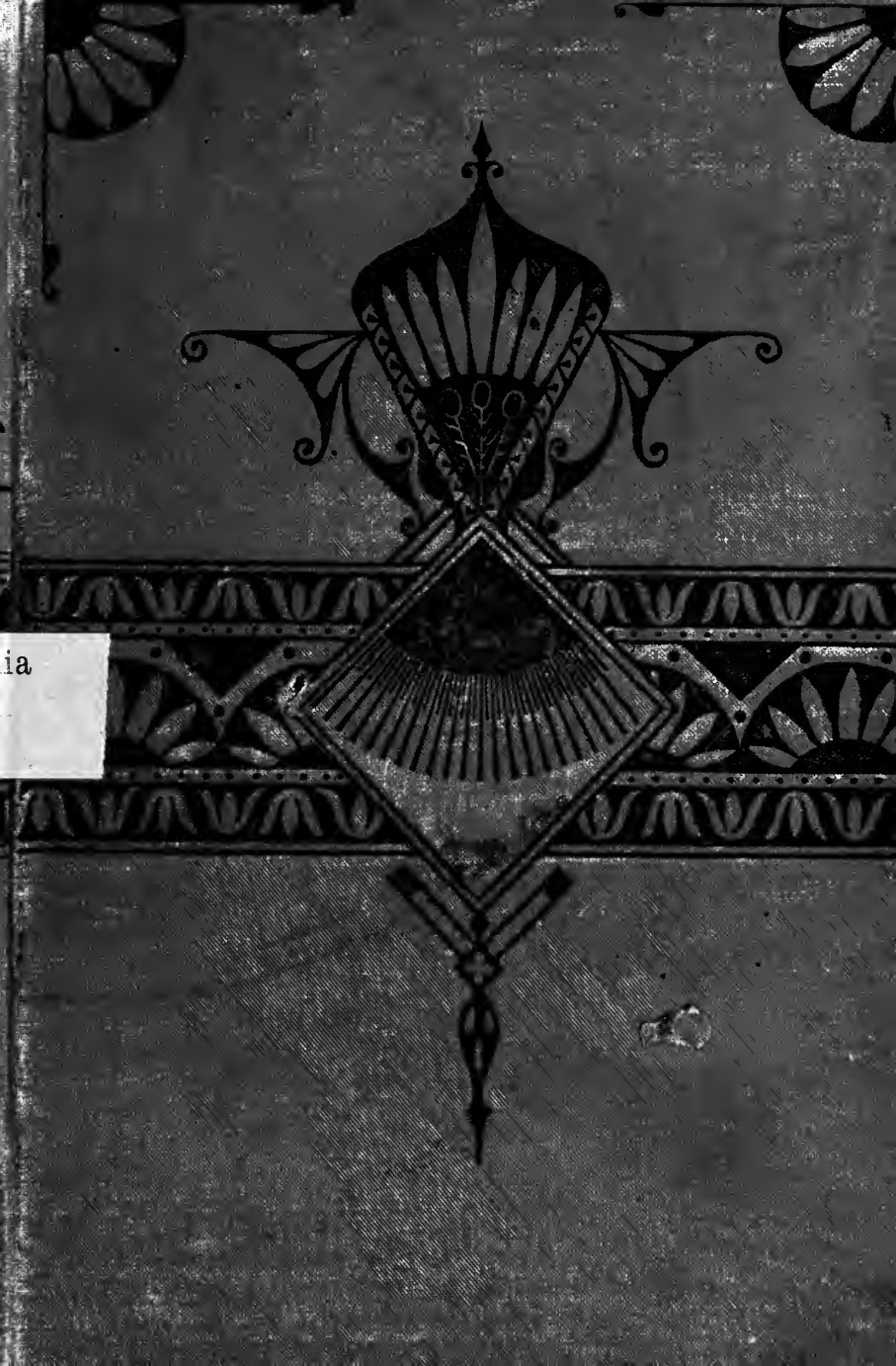


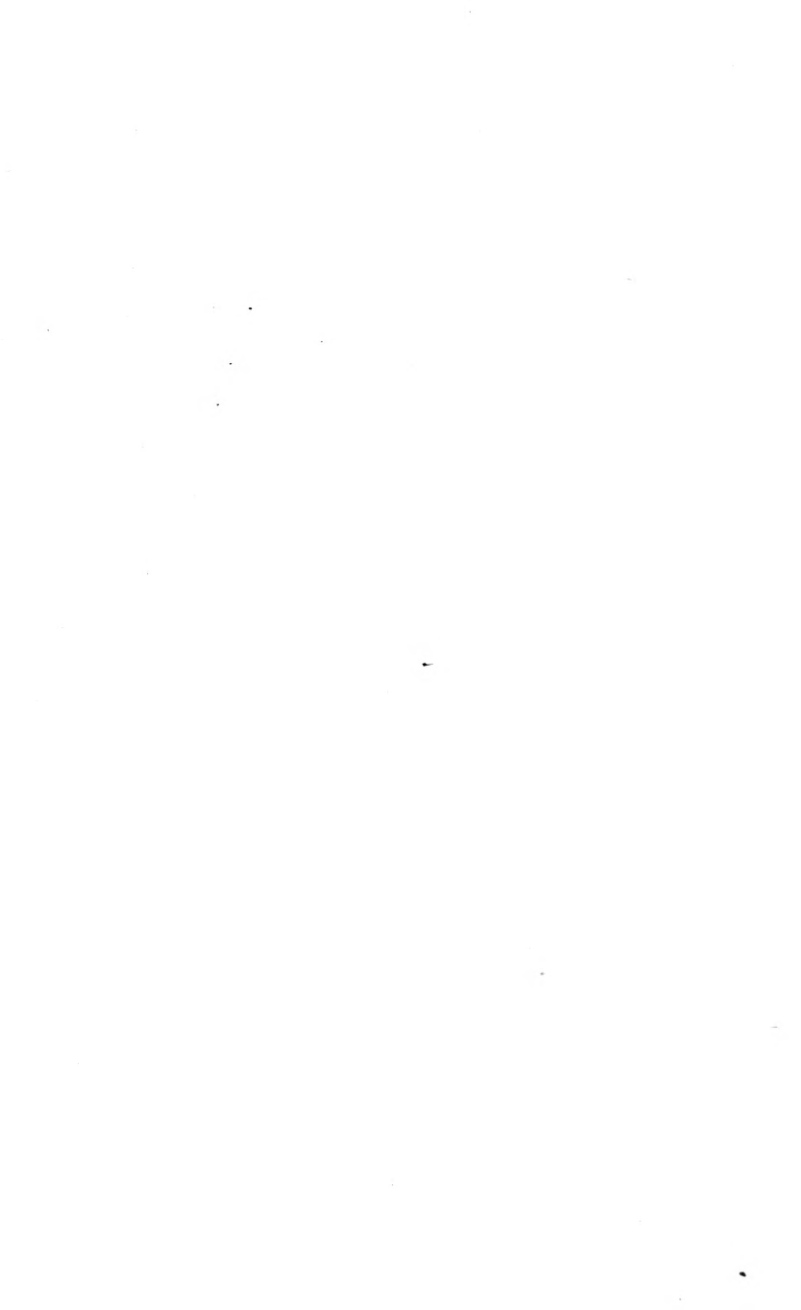
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PLEAS FOR PROGRESS.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

[Monteagle, Tenn., August 2, 1883.]

THERE is nothing peculiar in the subject I am to discuss at this time. The education of a Negro is the education of a human being. In its essential characteristics the human mind is the same in every race and in every age. When a Negro child is taught that two and two are four he learns just what a white child learns when he is taught the same proposition. The teacher uses the same faculties of mind in imparting the truth as to the sum of two and two. The two children use the same faculties in learning the truth; it means the same thing to them both. In further teaching and learning the methods may vary, but the variations will depend less on differences of race than on peculiarities of the individual. What is here advanced is so obviously true that any human being trying to teach any other human being that two and two are four would naturally use the same method in conveying the truth of the statement, and would certainly expect the same results when the truth was once apprehended.

All this has nothing to do with the question, Which child learns most readily? or with another question,

Which child can learn most? If I were called on to answer these questions, I would say, as to the first, that the Negro child of ordinary intelligence will apprehend that two and two are four as readily as a white child of ordinary intelligence. Except in the mind of a fool there is no more in this statement to excite prejudice than if one should affirm that a Negro boy ten years old weighs as much as a white boy ten years old, or that he can jump as far.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS THE START.

As to the second question I would answer in perfect frankness that I do not know how much either can learn, and therefore I do not know which can learn most. If urged to answer the question, Which race, as we find them to-day in this country, is capable of the higher mental training and culture? I would answer that this is a very different question; for the capabilities of a race are the results not only of their original ethnic endowment, but of their ethnic history for many generations. As applied to these two races the condition of the problems of their education are not now equal, nor can they now be made equal; for the white race has fully two thousand years the start. The ethnic development of the Britons was higher before Julius Cæsar than was the ethnic development of the African tribes from which our Negro fellow-citizens were taken some generations ago. Nothing should less need proving than the doctrine here set forth. Any stock-breeder can expound to you the force that is in the law of heredity. Ask the wise men who breed race-horses, Jersey cows, hunting-dogs, or even canary birds. They attach great importance to pedigree, and they can tell you why.

NOBODY KNOWS.

I do not then propose to discuss the relative capacity of the two races; my theme is a very different one. Besides, I am not prepared to discuss that question; I do not know any man who is prepared to discuss it; neither race is sufficiently educated to furnish a gauge of its possibilities. As to the Negro nobody knows, even approximately, what he can do. His experiment is just begun. Until recently he had no chance; to-day he has a small chance; till the gospel and common sense have conquered the prejudices of us of the white race he will not have the best conditions for showing what he can do. Considering what small chance he has had, and the short time in which he has been allowed to learn, his achievements seem to me to be most remarkable. But on this point I know very well that, as is usual where feeling enters into judgments, those who know the least from personal investigations will make the most dogmatic assertions and the most vehement denials.

The proposition which I am here to advocate is this, and this only: *The Negro in the United States ought to be educated.*

The first reason I offer is in

THE FACT OF HIS HUMANITY.

He ought to be educated because he is a man. At this point I say nothing to those who deny the essential unity of the human race; I speak to those who do believe in that essential unity.

For one, I believe in the essential unity of the race, and I believe in the brotherhood of the race. I believe, therefore, in all brotherly help and service wherever and however I find any human being. For

the very same reasons that I believe in sending the gospel and the Christian civilization that goes with it to China, I believe in giving Christian education to the Negroes in America. And lest by some possibility there should be some misapprehension as to the truth I hold, let me say: I believe in giving the opportunities of Christian education to the Negroes for the same reason that I believe in giving the opportunities of Christian education to white people—that is, because they are alike human beings, and by natural, God-given right should have the best opportunity God's providence allows them for becoming all that they are capable of becoming. So long as I believe in Jesus Christ and his gospel I cannot stand upon a lower platform than this. I think I know what he would say on this subject. It is he who spoke of himself as "the Son of man," the Brother of every man; it is he who gave us the parable of the Good Samaritan and the Sermon on the Mount; it is he who lived for all men and died for all men; it is he who will tell us how to discuss and answer questions that involve the rights and needs and destinies of human beings. People who have opinions they are afraid to carry to Jesus Christ had better change their opinions.

THE KEYS OF KNOWLEDGE TO EVERY CHILD.

At this point I offer all I care to say at this time as to the extent to which the Negro's education should be carried. He should have opportunity to learn all that he can learn, because he has the right that God gave him, when he made him, to become as much of a man and as truly a man as his nature allows. This right he has in virtue of his humanity—right cannot

be diviner. How much he can learn, of what developments he is capable, we of to-day do not know, our children will not know, for the education of a race implies the education of generations. But individuals of the Negro race have done enough in the matter of advanced education; hundreds of thousands of them have done enough in the matter of elementary education, to put to flight utterly the theories and arguments that a generation ago we of the white race, with few exceptions, accepted as the final orthodox philosophy on this subject.

"THE THREE R'S."

As a practical question I would say: Every child in this country, white and black, should have from his parents, or from the Government, an equal chance for elementary education. I believe in what Americans mean by the common school.

There should be schools enough to give to every child the rudiments of learning; if you please, the "three R's." And these should be good enough to teach the rudiments thoroughly. Such schools there must be if the children of the republic are to be educated; if they are to reach the case they must be backed by the Government. To accomplish their end wisely, justly, efficiently, there must be a fair and equitable distribution of the school funds, without distinction of race. I rejoice that every State in this Union—with perhaps one exception—does now, [no exception now, 1888] in principle at least, use its school fund without distinction of race, so that in the opportunities of elementary education there may be justice to both races.

What comes after this universal elementary educa-

tion? The answer is simple and to me obvious. Whatever individual capacity, aided by the benevolence of good men and the wise enterprise of the Churches, makes possible. Give them all, black and white, the keys of knowledge, and then let them unlock as many doors as they can. I pity the coward who is afraid to give a human being this chance. Little danger is there that any race will rise too high, that any individual of any race will learn too much truth. There is no danger more remote than the danger of over-education; there is no danger more imminent than the danger of under-education and false education. And there is no part of the civilized world that at this time has greater need to concern itself with the social and political and moral perils that lurk in wide-spread ignorance than our own well-beloved and fair sunny South of the year 1883.

ARGUMENT ON THE LOWER PLANE.

With not a few persons of good business faculty and shrewd worldly wisdom it often happens that an argument on the lower plane of policy goes much farther than an argument on the higher plane of truth and right. They are prone to forget that there is no wise policy that is against right, and that while God reigns there cannot be.

I will offer the argument on the lower plane. The Negro is here, and here to stay. He is a citizen armed with that thunderbolt of political power, the ballot. That it was given to him unwisely because untimely and without conditions that would develop in him a wise conscience as to the use of it; that as a rule he is unfit to be a voter—all this I understand fairly well. But this is not the subject to discuss at this time.

He is a citizen; he is a voter. In some States he is in the majority; in every Southern State he is a tremendous power—a power, whether he uses it or designing white men use it.

It is about time to consider facts. His citizenship is a fact, and his presence here is a fact. There are now at least seven millions of Negroes in this country; nearly all of them are in the Southern States. They increase rapidly and steadily faster than the white race. Some writers have attempted, with small success, to impeach the United States census tables. This much may be said on this point: these tables are the highest authority we have on this subject.

TEN TIMES IN A HUNDRED YEARS.

What do the census tables show? Thoughtful men will consider the answer to the question. The increase in the total population of the United States from 1870 to 1880 was 30.06 per cent.; the increase of the white race, aided enormously by foreign immigration, was 28.82 per cent.; the increase of the Negro population, unaided by foreign immigration, was 34.78 per cent.

Some writers of name and position have endeavored to break the force of these figures by calling in question the accuracy of the census tables and by seeking, in the comparison of longer periods, as from 1840 to 1860 and from 1860 to 1880, to prove a smaller percentage of increase. One good man has offered his personal observation against the conclusions of the census of 1880!

If they want the best test for comparison, let them try ten decades instead of two sets of two. One hundred years ago there were in this country about 700,-

000 Negroes; now there are 7,000,000. That is, they have multiplied ten times in a century. How many will there be in 1983?

A man who does not know that voters

OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO READ AND WRITE

does not know enough to be argued with. The illiterate vote of the Southern States is simply appalling, and the illiterate vote is increasing. From 1870 to 1880 there was an increase of illiterate votes in the Southern States of nearly two hundred thousand. Figures may not be interesting to a mixed audience, but they are sometimes very instructive. I will give you a few on the illiterate vote of our section of the Union.

In Georgia the illiterate white vote in 1870 was 21,899; in 1880, 28,571; the Negro illiterate vote in 1870 was 100,551; in 1880, 116,516. In Kentucky the white illiterate vote in 1870 was 43,826; in 1880, 54,956; the Negro illiterate vote in 1870 was 37,899; in 1880, 43,177. In Tennessee the white illiterate vote in 1870 was 37,713; in 1880, 46,948; the Negro illiterate vote in 1870 was 55,938; in 1880, 58,601. In Texas the white illiterate vote in 1870 was 17,505; in 1880, 33,085; the Negro illiterate vote in 1870 was 47,275; in 1880, 59,609. It has increased in every one of these States. .

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE SCARED.

Let those philosophers who think that "education spoils the poor for laborers" take heart. The uneducated adults among the whites and blacks in the South increase in numbers. If ignorance makes better laborers, there has been great advance in our industrial resources since 1870. There were among us nearly

two hundred thousand more grown men who could neither read nor write in 1880 than in 1870. Alas! there are more illiterate women than illiterate men. Doubtless 1883 would show still farther progress—downward.

THE VOTES OF IGNORANCE.

Surely it cannot be necessary before this assembly to point out the perils to our institutions involved in this large and increasing illiterate vote.

How are the votes of ignorant men determined? 1. In small part by the counsels of the wise and good citizen. I say in small part, for the bad and designing demagogue has more power over the ignorant vote than has the good and unselfish patriot. 2. The votes of the ignorant are largely determined by prejudice. Out of prejudice proceed conflicts and all manner of social and political wrongs. 3. The votes of the ignorant are largely influenced by bribes, offered in one form or another. And this means fraud and corruption without end and bottomless. The worst thing about this huge illiterate vote is not the incapacity of the voters to use their ballots wisely; the worst thing about it is this: ignorance fits them exactly to become the tools of corrupt men of superior intelligence. With an illiterate vote large enough to hold the balance of power elections are for the most part dictated by demagogues and manipulated by villains. It is left to intelligent, industrious, and honest citizens to settle the costs of corrupt government.

THEY SAY: "TEACH HIM MORALS."

I am not unacquainted with the answer to all this as a plea for the education of the Negro. "Book-learning," we are gravely informed, "is not sufficient; the

Negro needs education in morals." This is true, and true as to the Negro because true as to all other men. But will sensible men seriously urge the Negro's education in morals as an objection to his education in books? Is book-knowledge, then, in itself unfavorable to good morals? Is ignorance the mother of devotion and the nurse of religion? Then recall the fierce Arabs who put the torch to great libraries, and bid them burn down your colleges and school-houses; bid them destroy your books and stop your busy press forever. Then, stop all education; stop all thinking; vegetate and die.

It is unmitigated nonsense — this miserable pretense of reasoning that since the Negro does need betterment in his morals the school-house is not good for him.

A most significant fact may be mentioned at this point: The only white people in this country who are expending either much service or much money in the effort to improve the Negro's morals are also the people who are expending most money and service in the endeavor to teach him the knowledge of books. It is also true that those who have the most to say about the Negro's need of education in morals, as a reason for not educating him in books, are precisely the people who are not doing any thing of consequence to educate him in any thing. To a plain man there seems to be a degree of sham and cant in their talk.

FOUR ROOT OBJECTIONS.

The objections to the Negro's education that control men's opinions have their origin in four roots, closely united.

1. In ignorance. There are not a few who are at bottom opposed to all education.

2. In stinginess. Multiplied thousands deny their own children education because it costs money. Money is their God. There are some white men in this country who by some sad mischance are both fathers of families and the owners of good properties, but they are too mean and too near barbarism to educate their children. They are traitors to their sacred trust of fatherhood and a disgrace to the human race. And as to public schools, in which the children of the poor may be taught the rudiments of education, objection, with most people, would close—if it cost them nothing. I have yet to meet one man who opposed the schools somebody else's money paid for—unless from a sentiment worse than avarice.

3. In prejudice—prejudice against the Negro because he is a Negro. Avarice is a mean spirit, but this sort of prejudice is meaner. It is cowardly and ignoble; it is, root and branch, utterly unchristian. If any think that my language is too strong, let them test their prejudices. Take them to Jesus Christ and ask him to approve them. Test them in the light of the Sermon on the Mount and of the judgment-day. How mean they look in that light!

4. In apprehensions that appeal to two classes of fear:

(1) The apprehension that the education of the Negro will spoil him as a laborer. I know what I am talking about when I say that this fear is at the bottom of much of the current opposition to the education of the Negro. I go among the people and keep my eyes and ears open.

"BOSSISM."

If the argument that supports this apprehension be worth any thing, it proves too much, for it is just as good as an argument against the education of the poor whites. Education will as certainly spoil them for laborers. The spirit that is capable of such an objection to the education of the poor of any race is selfish, cowardly, and essentially mean. It is worthy only of the Dark Ages. It is at bottom a plea for the tyranny of "bossism." Put into form, it says this: "I am, by virtue of money, or shrewdness, or learning a sort of 'boss' among my fellow-men; I must keep them in ignorance that I may keep them down and be better able to play the 'boss.'"

But there is nothing in the argument; it is false all through. For no man is better for any thing in the world to be done because he is ignorant. A trained dog is better than a wild dog. Ignorance is not a qualification for any thing that God intended man to do. It is first, last, and all the time disqualification rather. Every principle of right and justice denies it; every law of political economy condemns it; the history of the human race repudiates it.

Intelligence spoils no man for any thing that a man ought to do in this world. And were it otherwise, what right before God has one human being to keep another human being in ignorance in order to keep him in slavery? These questions go to the bottom, and we must go to the bottom in settling questions of rights and wrongs between man and his fellow-men.

THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM.

What is history good for except to teach us by its examples? If history teaches any thing, it teaches that

no social or labor or national or race problem was ever yet truly solved by mere repression—by merely trying to keep human beings down. It is in our times seen at its best and worst in Europe; it is the Russian system. It fails always and everywhere; there is in it dynamite and death and hell. It must fail, for in its very heart it is tyranny, and the eternal powers are against it.

A NEEDLESS SCARE.

(2) With some there is opposition to the education of the Negro from a vague fear of something that is called "social equality." Just now the poor Negro is in a place where "two seas meet." There are two classes of extremists: One is in mortal terror lest the Negro should become somebody; the other is morbidly anxious that he should assert claims to what he is in no wise fitted for. If between the two he does not lose his balance he will deserve the respect of both. There never was in this world, in any nation or community, such a thing as social equality, and there never will be. The social spheres arrange themselves to suit themselves, and no laws promulgated by State or Church will change the social affinities and natural selections of men. Men choose the circles for which they have affinity, seek the companionships they prefer, and find the places that are suited to them.

After all it would be well to remember that the great and good and wise God reigns among men, that he will reign when we are all gone from this world, and that he has more concern about the welfare of men than they can have about themselves; and that he who has ruled in the history of the nations since the beginning of the world has purposes of his own which,

in his own good time, he will work out in blessings to the whole race of man.

Conscience is wiser than reason. When we cannot know what in the world's sense is politic, we can always know what in God's sense of things is right. Everywhere and forever the right thing is the politic thing.

THE QUESTION NOW.

But the question is no longer a question as to what we prefer; it is now a question as to what can be done. These millions are here among us; they are citizens; they are voters—taking part in the government of this whole nation. When a man of sense can't have his own way he will seek the next best thing he can get. It may well be that we would not choose that the conditions of our very difficult problem should be what they are. But they are what they are. Only fools have contempt for facts. It is not in the providence of God left to us to choose our own problem; it is ours to accept facts and to do the very best we can. Nor is it any longer a question whether the Negro will be educated. That work was begun before Appomattox; it has been going on ever since; it is now being pushed with more vigor than ever before.

Of this we may be sure: the Negro will, sooner or later, be educated. The State governments recognize him in the public school administration. Northern liberality has spent more than twenty millions of dollars in the South since the surrender of the Confederate cause for the education of the Negro. With our approval or without it this work will go on, and it ought to go on. I thank God for those who have carried it on thus far; for the liberal men and women who

have given great sums of money, and for the devoted men and women who have given their personal service. That some cranks and marplots have appeared among them in the course of twenty years is no more an argument against the great work itself than is the discovery of an occasional hypocrite and scoundrel in the pulpit an argument against Christianity.

During most of the time that this work has been going on in our midst its promoters have had little countenance or encouragement from us. Many times they have been opposed and despised and made to feel our contempt.

ABSURD AND CHILDISH.

In all truth and common sense there is no reason for discounting, in any respect, a white man or woman simply for teaching Negroes. It is utterly absurd. I believe it to be also sinful. Let us consider our attitude on this subject for a moment. We have the Negroes to cook for us, and if they do not know how, as is often the case, our wives and daughters teach them. We employ them in all sorts of ways. When elections come on we ask not only their votes, but their "social influence." Candidates, from governor to coroner, do this earnestly, invariably, and without social discredit. We sell goods to them, we buy from them, we practice law for them, we practice medicine for them, and it is all well enough. In all business relations, except teaching, so far as I can remember our ways on this subject, whether as employers or employees, we think it all very nice, and so do our wise neighbors. How utterly and childishly absurd it is to "make an exception" if one teaches a Negro child how to spell, to read, and to

write. Will some master in such fine knowledge explain just wherein it is seemly to sell goods to a Negro, or to buy from him, or to practice law for him, or to give him medicine, or even to preach to him sometimes, but a thing abhorrent to teach him whatever he can learn that we can teach? Of what shams we are guilty!

Think of people going into raptures over David Livingstone, explorer of Africa and pioneer of Christian civilization, and then turning up their noses at a teacher, not because he is ignorant or ill-bred or bad, but because, forsooth, he teaches a Negro school.

A word more I add on this point. If the best results are to be achieved, both for the white and black races, in the education of the Negro, then Southern white people must take part in the work of his education.

TIME CHANGES, AND THE GRAVE BURIES.

Let us take courage; prejudices that must hold their own, both against conscience and common sense, must die after awhile. Great changes occur in the life-time of one generation, and the law of mortality buries the bitterest prejudices in the grave. How great revolutions in sentiment fifty years may produce many facts of our country's history illustrate. It has been only fifty years since a fierce multitude in Canterbury Green, Conn., mobbed a cultivated and Christian woman only because she was teaching a few Negro children.

THERE ARE SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

In May, 1882, at the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the College of Bishops, in their quadrennial message to the Confer-

ence, earnestly recommended some adequate provision for the better preparation for their work of colored teachers and preachers. The Committee on Education reported in favor of the plans suggested by the bishops; the General Conference, without a dissenting voice, adopted the report of the committee. The result so far is the appointment of a Board of Trustees, the sending forth of a general agent, the selection of a place and the election of two of the best men in that Church to serve in the Faculty of Payne Institute, Augusta, Ga. For seven months the general agent and the President, both of them distinguished and able ministers in that Church, have worked hard, with small success.

It may be considered "unparliamentary," but I take leave to ask, Did the General Conference mean any thing by the action it took on the subject of Negro education in Nashville, Tenn., in May, 1882? If so, what did it mean? It is incredible that we should have in this history a case of conscience like this: too much conscience to repudiate a duty, but not enough to do it—just enough to use good words. If that General Conference represented the Church in its action on the subject of Negro education, how are we to interpret the non-action of that Church when asked to do what the General Conference put into words?

If it did not represent that Church, what is to become of a Church that does not even put into words its recognition of an obvious duty? What finally will be the attitude of this Church if it shall drop the work which it solemnly declared, through its bishops and its General Conference, that it ought to do and that it promised to do? It will be discredited and it

will never recover from the wound given its own heart by its own hand. [The cause gains. Payne Institute is getting its roots down into the native soil. It has been going on for about five years; Rev. Dr. Morgan Callaway, first President. The property, worth about \$20,000, is paid for, and one good man, Rev. Moses U. Payne, has put under it \$25,000 to begin endowment. Rev. G. W. Walker is President. Payne Institute, Augusta, Ga., is but the beginning, May, 1888. The commissioner, Rev. W. C. Dunlap, is pushing the work, and friends are coming to his aid.—A. G. H.]

Other Churches in the South have small occasion to glory over the Church whose General Conference action I have discussed, for none of them have done any thing worthy of special mention; few of them have even gone so far as to talk of doing any thing.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER.

If the Churches of the South take no part in the Christian education of the millions of Negroes in our midst, what will be the verdict of history upon their course? A far more important question is this: What will be the verdict of the Head of the Church of the Lord God Almighty, the Father of us all? and what will be the result in the life of these Churches if God should see that by taking no part in the work angels would be glad to do they have made themselves unworthy to be trusted with that work? Can the Churches of the South consider any questions that more deeply affect the very roots of their life?

THE ONLY PLATFORM.

It is one of the sad things connected with the difficult problem of the two races living together in this

country that not a few good people of both races have despaired of its solution. The author of the Declaration of Independence wrote, it is said, in 1782, this prediction: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government."

It does not surprise me that Mr. Jefferson made both these predictions. As to the first, there was at that time in Virginia and other Southern States a strong party that favored the emancipation of the slaves. As to the second, he had studied French philosophy more than he had studied Christianity. If this country had been pagan Rome or infidel France, the first prediction would have failed—the slaves never would have been set free by the will of man. Had they been set free, the second prediction would have been fulfilled, for in a pagan or infidel country the two races could not be "equally free and live in the same government." They would not have been set free had this not been a Christian country; as it is a Christian country, the two races, "equally free" before the law, can "live in the same government," and the problem of their citizenship can be solved.

As to this whole subject, full of difficulties, as those best know who have personal relations to it, there is just one platform on which Christian people can stand. Our problem with these millions of Negroes in our midst can be properly solved, not by force of any sort from without the States where they live; no more can it be solved by repression within those States. *It can be worked out only on the basis of the Ten Commandments*

and the Sermon on the Mount. On this platform we can solve any problem whatever—whether personal, social, industrial, political, national, or ethnical—that Providence brings before us. On any lower platform we will fail, and always fail.



HOW HE MAKES HIS WAY.

A Southern Man's Report on the Negro.

[Chautauqua, N. Y., Friday, August 17, 1883.]

I AM to talk to you to-day of seven millions of people. They are not of the past and distant, but of the present and the near. There is no history so unique as that of the African race in this country—a history that could not have been without the mind and hand of God. These people have been in the country about two hundred and sixty years; for a long time they were few in numbers. One hundred years ago, by natural increase and by new importations by the slave-ships, they had grown to be about 700,000 strong. There are now at the least 7,000,000 of the African race in this country. Their rate of increase is something wonderful; it recalls the story of Israel in the land of Goshen. The last census gives us some figures that are somewhat startling to those dreamers who told us at the close of the Civil War that the Negro race would follow the Indian, and gradually die out. There can be no greater delusion. The increase in the total population of the United States between 1870 and 1880 was 30.06 per cent.; the increase in the white population, although enormously aided by foreign immigration, was only 28.82 per cent.; the increase in the Negro population, entirely unaided by immigration, was 34.78 per cent.

Some writers are trying to break the force of these figures by calling in question the accuracy of the census tables, but these tables are our highest authority. Some writers seek to prove a different and lower rate of increase by comparing longer periods, as the decades between 1840 and 1860, and between 1860 and 1880. If we would be sure, let us compare ten decades. What do we find? That the Negro race has grown in one hundred years from 700,000 to 7,000,000. That is, the Negro population in the United States has multiplied itself ten times in one hundred years, giving us an average of increase of about 33 per cent. for each of ten successive decades.

FEWER MULATTOES BORN.

Of the seven millions of Negroes in the South the overwhelming majority of them are pure-blood Africans. There is no misconception held by Northern people touching the South that is wider of the mark than the prevalent notions as to the proportion of mulattoes to the whole number. The tourist sees many of the lighter skins about the hotels and other public places, and makes an inference as to the number of persons of mixed blood. Those who think that there are very large numbers of mulattoes in the South are mistaken, and not unnaturally. The white blood betrays itself; a score of white or black children are passed unnoticed; one yellow face is observed. Moreover, most of the mulattoes are in towns; partly because the majority of them are born there, and largely because they naturally drift into the towns, being in demand where sprightly and intelligent servants are wanted. But the great mass of the Southern population is rural; of the entire pop-

ulation hardly one million are in the cities. There is but one case in history of a race living for generations in the midst of another race, and yet keeping its blood so pure; the Jews alone can match this unique fact. It should be mentioned in this connection that fewer mulattoes are born now than before the war, although the population has increased nearly three millions since 1861. All informed people know this. The reason may be simply this: freedom has given legal force to the testimony that the unmarried Negro mother might give in a suit brought to secure the support of the child.*

In their emancipation in 1865 "the children of light" recognized the hand of God. When in his mercy and wisdom he set them free he also set free the white people of the South. Emancipation brought infinite gain to both races. For all of which God be thanked!

THE NEGROES DURING THE WAR.

The Negro's conduct during the war makes one of the most wonderful chapters in the world's history. He knew what the war meant to him; he had been praying for freedom for generations; he did not lack excitation to deeds of violence that would have made the stories of Hayti and San Domingo tame; he did not lack opportunity—the men of the South were following their flag to its final setting. Yet these Negro slaves tilled the land without whose products the Southern armies could not have staid in the field, and protected the families of absent soldiers who were fighting desperately under a flag that did not promise

* See page 51: "Opinions Concerning the Freedmen and Their Condition."

freedom to them. In what history can the conduct of these Southern Negroes from 1861 to 1865 be matched?

People will differ as to the right explanation. Some say that the Negro is not naturally daring or revengeful, and he had formed the habit of submission and feared the white man's vengeance. These things are true, but they were also true when the world was shocked by the horrors of San Domingo and Hayti. These explanations do not account for the marvelous behavior of the Southern Negroes during the war which involved their freedom. There are two other answers which do explain their conduct. First, the great majority of the slaves did truly love the white people; second, the chief reason is the wide diffusion among them of the Protestant religion; during the war a half-million of them were communicants in the various Protestant Churches of the South. None of them were infidels; they all believed in God, in heaven, in hell, in the judgment-day.

GOD IN THIS HISTORY.

→ At this point let me say with what force I can that no man can understand the Negro question in America—whether we speak of its history, discuss its solution or seek to forecast its issues—who leaves God out of the question. He who does not recognize God's hand in the whole of this long and troubled history can never understand it. He who cannot see God's hand in it all—in their coming to this country, in their slavery, in their emancipation—cannot understand the history of Israel in Egypt, or any other history. I do not mean recognize God's approval of all things, but God's providence in all things, a providence masterful, comprehensive, overruling, all-wise, and good.

LANDLESS, BUT NOT HELPLESS OR FRIENDLESS.

What was the *status* of the Negro when the surrender of the Southern armies and the subsequent acts of the reconstruction conventions in the Southern States not only made him free in fact, but in law? First of all, he was landless. A hasty and ill-informed man will add that he was also helpless and friendless. Not so; he was neither helpless nor friendless. He was not friendless, for the white people of the South were kindly disposed toward him; they did not blame him for the horrors of the war, or for the utter overthrow of their cause. The majority of them were grateful to the Negro for his conduct during the war. Men who did not leave their wives and children in the care of their Negroes cannot understand this statement. I did leave my family so.

They were not helpless, for if they were landless their former owners were without labor. Each had what the other needed; neither could get on without the other; neither was helpless, although both classes were very poor—poorer than any can understand who did not live down there and take part in their struggle to get upon their feet once more. Most of this labor was unskilled, though there were, in the days of slavery, not a few good mechanics among them. The great mass of them understood farm work after the old methods, but so much of this sort of labor has been wanted that there has never been enough of it. I doubt whether the laboring classes of any country in the world are so certain of constant employment as the Negroes of the South.*

* See page 51: "Opinions Concerning the Freedmen and Their Condition."

TROUBLE AND CONFUSION.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the re-adjustments that followed the war were always smooth and comfortable to either party. Far from it; there was trouble and confusion without end—especially about the time that designing men filled the Negro imagination with the notion of the gift of “forty acres, a mule, and a year’s provisions” from the United States Government. Thousands of them were sorely disappointed that these expectations were not realized. As to the reliability of their labor, experiences and opinions differ widely; some will tell you that it is the best in the world; others, that it is the worst. The truth lies between these extremes. In these matters much depends upon the employers; some farmers have trouble and failure always, and some have none. There had to be time and patience; neither party understood free labor; the one did not know its rights, the other as little knew its duties. Negro labor in the South cannot now be equal to the best labor, for free labor, to be the best, must be intelligent. Freedom and ignorance combined cannot make the best conditions for securing thoroughly-efficient labor of any sort.

WHAT THEY DO.

What work do they do? All that they are competent to do. The majority are on the farms, where the majority of white laborers are. They work for fixed wages, or, as tenants, pay their rent in part of the crop. Their worst trouble as tenant farmers grows out of the fact that most of their supplies are bought at credit prices, which consume their profits. But in this they are better off than the poor whites, who farm under similar conditions, for the reason that they can,

and as a class do, live cheaper. They are employed in all the services which Northern people employ foreigners or their poor neighbors to do. There are some occupations which Negro men nearly monopolize. As porters in hotels and sleeping-cars, draymen, gardeners, train-hands on the railways, hotel-waiters, hod-carriers, as common hands on buildings, and in street work they are found everywhere, with little competition. They are largely in the majority in building railroads and in keeping them in order. They dig nearly all the wells, and drive all the carriages that are not driven by their owners. In the cities they almost monopolize the cabs, many of which they own. My observation is that the majority of shoe-makers in the South are black men. They are fully represented in the mechanic arts as carpenters, brick-masons, plasterers, blacksmiths.

SOUTHERN PEOPLE MOST PATIENT.

It is long since I have seen a building going up in a Southern city where Negroes were not upon the walls working with white men and receiving the same pay for the same work. Can you say as much for any Northern city? If collisions occur in such cases, it is generally between Negroes and Irishmen. Next to the Irish, Northern mechanics have least patience with them. And, as a rule, nothing is better understood in the South than that those of our people who never owned slaves (and they are the great majority of Southern white people) have less patience with Negroes as servants than those who once owned them; and that Northern people who have come South since the war have less patience with the Negro's careless ways than any Southern people.

WHAT FIELDS ARE OPEN TO NEGRO WOMEN?

Many of them work on the farms with their husbands and children, doing the lighter work as well as the men. They monopolize domestic service. They do nearly all the laundry work, and much of it is wretchedly done. In plain work many of them find employment as seamstresses. Whatever may be the difficulties of their position, they are better off than white women who are compelled to do servants' work for a living, for it is much easier for them to find employment.

There is no question more perplexing to the principals of colored colleges than this, as one of them recently stated it to me: "What is to be done with the young women we educate? There is nothing for them but school-teaching and domestic service."

This is a great deal, for as teachers of the children of their own race many thousands of them are needed, and very few of them are ready. Already many of them are teaching primary schools for colored children; in this service there are more colored women than men, and I think they do better work than the men do. [This was an error; there were more men than women.—A. G. H.] But there is nothing peculiar in their case as to employments; more fields are open to them than to dependent white women.

THE NEGRO PREACHER.

"What are colored men doing in the professions?" More of them than are fit are teaching schools. Is preaching a profession? Here the colored brother is in his glory. Several thousands of them are preaching—as it were. A few of them are thoroughly trained, are capable, are eloquent, and are doing in-

calculable good. Many of them are partially furnished for their work, and are doing much good. The majority of them are simply exhorters, and do more or less good. Many of them, it is to be feared, do more harm than good; not because they are Negroes, but because they are totally unfit for their work, just as some white men are unfit for their work. Some of their sermons surpass in absurdity the "harp of a thousand strings." Some of the most ignorant are the best, and in rude eloquence and pathos, both in exhortation and prayer, surpass many who are superior in culture and learning. They are much given to the use of big words of wondrous sound, and when they do not know them, make them off-hand with the most amazing facility. It would be easy to amuse you with specimens, but there is hardly time for that to-day; but were there time I have not the heart for it.

Their very blunders are pathetic when they are trying to imitate the ambitious oratory of vain white men, or seriously trying to express the thought that stirs their hearts. The number of Negro preachers in the South is almost incredible. They have a consuming passion for public speaking, and the dignity of the sacred office fires his ambition as well as his zeal. The pulpit furnishes him the only field for oratory and office-holding that is easily accessible to him. And in this is one of the perils of the Church life of the Southern Negroes to-day. But after all, the great law of supply and demand asserts itself here; Negro liberality cannot support more than a certain proportion of preachers, and the necessity of working for a living tends to correct the evil of a too pronounced impulse to public speaking.

There is one fact incident to this discussion worthy of mention. It has often been supposed that Roman Catholicism might make great progress among the Southern Negroes. Not yet awhile; they are dead opposed to the doctrines of an exclusive priesthood and of the celibacy of the clergy.

CONSERVATORS OF THE PEACE.

The ignorance, the incapacity, the unfitness of the average Negro preacher I recognize. but in some quarters injustice is done him. So far as my observation goes—and I have lived among these people all my life—I utterly deny that the morals of the average Negro preacher are as low as they were asserted to be by a Southern preacher—a Northern man resident in the South for some years past—at a Church Congress in Richmond, Va., last autumn. As to the deliverances of that clergyman, and as to the testimonials from his brethren by which they were supported in a pamphlet subsequently published, I have this to say: Granting them the purest motives and the most perfect sincerity, as I do, I think they are incompetent witnesses, for the ministers of that Church, both before and since the war, have had less to do with the religious life of the Negroes than with any other class of people in the country, except possibly the poor whites. With all his faults and imperfections, many of them cruelly exaggerated by caricaturists and sensational writers, I bear this testimony to the Negro preacher in the South: Life there would have been much harder without him. With rare exceptions they have been found on the side of law and order, and in our day of storm and stress they were, as a class, conservators of the peace. There were some shocking

exceptions. They have urged their people to send their children to school, and have been useful in a thousand ways. The tens who fall into sin and disgrace are widely advertised; the hundreds who simply do their duty are unknown to the newspaper world.

A LESSON FROM WHITTIER.

The good poet Whittier, in a poem read at Woodstock, Conn., last Fourth of July, has given us a lesson that will encourage the charitable and candid among all classes in our country. It is appropriate as applied to the subject I am now discussing:

Whate'er of folly, shame, or crime
Within thy mighty bounds transpires,
With speed defying space and time
Comes to us on the accusing wires;
While of thy wealth of noble deeds,
Thy homes of peace, thy votes unsold,
The love that pleads for human needs,
The wrong redressed, but half is told!
Each poor wretch in his prison cell
Or gallows-noose, is interviewed;
We know the single sinner well,
And not the nine and ninety good.
Yet, if on daily scandals fed,
We seem at times to doubt thy worth,
We know thee still, when all is said,
The best and dearest spot on earth.

ALL NEGROES NOT ALIKE.

It is easy to understand how there should be utterly-conflicting reports. One observer does not see it all; only a few have seen all representative classes. All Negroes are not alike. They are scattered over a vast territory. There are wide differences among them. The Negroes of the midland regions as a rule are far

superior to those of the coast. They have been more with the white people, and their ancestors were among the first that were brought from Africa.*

DEVOTION TO HIS CHURCH.

I ought to say more about the Southern Negro in his Church relations. Nearly one million and a half of them are now communicants, nine-tenths of them being Methodists and Baptists. Their Churches are the center of their social as well as their religious life. No man has more influence with his followers than the Negro pastor. Whoever studies the Church life of the Southern Negro will be impressed with the power of their ecclesiastical organizations. Whether their leaders have any instinct for Church government I know not, but it is certain that they hold together well. They are devoted to their Churches. There is not simply individual enthusiasm, but a certain *esprit* in the congregations that might well be the envy and despair of many a white pastor. They go their length for their Churches.

But one other Church in the world has such a grasp upon the money question. I mean the Roman Catholic Church. In proportion to their ability the Negro Churches in the South raise more money for Church purposes than any other congregations in this country. No people in the world can match them in sticking to a protracted meeting. They think nothing of holding on three, or even six months. There

*[They are not alike as to tribal origin. Their ancestors were from different nations in Africa. There are different varieties of African men, as there are Irishmen, Englishmen, Germans, among the whites; or Seminoles, Cherokees, Flat-heads, etc., among the Indians.—A. G. H.]

is something in this besides religious enthusiasm; these meetings largely gratify their pronounced social instincts. No doubt these meetings are attended with many follies and extravagances, many mistakes and wastes of power, in some cases with exhibitions of fanatical superstition. But it would be modest—at least for white people whose fathers and grandfathers fell under the power of the “jerks” at camp-meetings fifty years ago—not to be too hard in criticising the Negroes, whose ancestors a few centuries past were snake-worshipers, and who themselves learned what they know of the gospel from their white critics.

HIS RELIGION A REALITY.

I have seen them in their many religious moods; in their most death-like trances and in their wildest outbreaks of excitement. I have preached to them in town and country and on the plantations. I have been their pastor; have led their classes and prayer-meetings, conducted their love-feasts, and taught them the catechism. I have married them, baptized their children, and buried their dead. In the reality of religion among them I have the most entire confidence, nor can I ever doubt it while it is a reality to me. In many things their notions may be crude, their conceptions of truth realistic, sometimes to a painful, sometimes to a grotesque degree.

They are more emotional than ethical. The average of their morals is not high; they do many things that they ought not; nevertheless their religion is their most striking and important, their strongest and most formative characteristic. They are more remarkable here than anywhere else; their religion has had more to do in shaping their better character in this country

than all other influences combined; it will most determine what they are to become in their future development. It is wrong to condemn them harshly when judged by the standard white people hardly dare apply to themselves with their two thousand years the start of them. The just God did not judge half-barbarous Israel, wandering in the twilight about the wilderness of Sinai, as he judges us on whom the Sun of righteousness has risen, with the full light of gospel day.

EARS AND TONGUES MADE FOR EACH OTHER.

The hope of the African race in this country is largely in its pulpit. The school-house and the newspaper have not substituted the pulpit as a throne of spiritual power in any nation. I do not believe that they ever will. But for this race, for generations to come, its pulpit is pre-eminently its teacher. Here they must receive their best counsels and their divinest inspirations. I say *its* pulpit; I mean this. White preachers have in the past done much for them, and ought to have done more; they can now do much, and ought to do more than they do; but the great work must be done by preachers of the Negro race. Tongues and ears are made for each other; in each race both its tongues and its ears have characteristics and sympathetic relations of their own. No other tongue can speak to a Negro's ear like a Negro's tongue. All races are so; some missionaries have found this out. Missionaries plant the Church; the native ministry must extend and perpetuate it. How urgent the need and how sacred the duty of preparing those of this race whom God calls to preach to their people! If there was ever a work done in this

world that God loves it must be the work done in the South by those who are trying to get the sons of Africa ready to preach the gospel to their own people. Heaven bless these "schools of the prophets!" Heaven bless the men and women who have given money and personal service in this holy work! Fools may taboo them; the angels honor them.

RACE INSTINCTS.

The importance of this work of training wisely their future religious teachers will be emphasized when we consider the most remarkable tendency that has so far shown itself in the development of their ecclesiastical life; I mean the strong and resistless disposition in those of like faith to come together in their religious organizations. The centripetal is stronger than the centrifugal force. We have already a large number of African organizations. The majority of them belong to Churches, not only of their own "faith and order," but of their "own race and color." I cannot now discuss this large question. I can at this time only give an opinion reached after much observation and communication with them. As the matter appears to me, there is somewhere in their secret thoughts and aspirations a mighty undercurrent of sentiment that tends to bring them into race affiliations in their religious life. It is an instinct that does not, perhaps, recognize itself; that certainly does not express itself plainly in words; that does not argue, but that moves straight on to its end, steady, resistless, and in the end triumphant.

Every experiment that has been made by any Church furnishes convincing illustrations to persons who know facts when they see them and are willing

to recognize them. The Negro wants a Church of his own, and in some way he will have it. Churches and Conferences may be mixed at first; but in brief time they unmix. It would be as unkind as untrue to say that the white people who began these experiments tired of them. The simple truth is this: Instinct is supreme; the colored brethren want their own churches, their own pastors, their own bishops, their own Conferences. Whether we of the white race approve or disapprove matters little; the movements that grow out of race instincts do not wait upon the conclusions of philosophy. Who knows enough to affirm that in the long run their development will not be all the better for following this instinct, for building themselves up by doing their own work in their own way?

OBLIGATION INTENSIFIED.

If these race instincts should work out their normal results in Church organizations of their own—not only as to the great majority of them, as is now the case, but as to them all—the obligation of the white people to help them is not diminished thereby; it is intensified.

NEGRO SCHOLARS AND TEACHERS.

This address, considered as a partial statement of the Negro's progress and prospects, would be unpardonably defective if it left out the consideration of his relation to the subject of education. But nothing, in the limitations of this occasion, is possible to me except a few suggestive statements that thoughtful and informed people will understand. First, then, the total colored school population of the South in 1881 was 1,840,585. Of these 802,559 were enrolled as at-

tending the public schools in that year—that is, a fraction over 47 per cent. of the colored children of school age were enrolled. Of the white children of school age 62 per cent. were enrolled. In these States the school age runs from six to eighteen years, and the school term averages from three to five months.

It is doubtful if two-thirds of these children—colored or white—attend school during the full term. Nearly all the colored children in the public schools are taught by colored teachers. These schools are low-grade primaries, with exceptions so few that they hardly affect the statement. The school funds of these States, with perhaps one exception, are divided without distinction of race. [No exception in 1888—A. G. H.] That is, they share it alike.

These teachers are, most of them, inefficient; they are sadly deficient in qualifications. Nevertheless these colored children are actually learning to read and write and to cipher. And this is a great deal for a people totally illiterate twenty years ago to learn. The right way to consider the results of the efforts of these humble teachers is not to compare them with Boston grammar schools, but with nothing. In the cities of the South, where public schools under municipal direction have been established, many of the colored schools are as well taught as are the best white schools, and with results the most satisfactory. I could name a dozen Southern cities where the work done in the public schools by colored children would not cause a blush in the face of the most ardent friend of the race in any country.

SCHOOLS THAT PREPARE TEACHERS.

Of schools called universities, colleges, institutes,

seminaries, normal schools, there are nearly one hundred and fifty. Among these are seventeen known as universities or colleges; there are twenty-two schools of theology, three schools of law, two of medicine, and two for the deaf, dumb, and blind. These are the figures given by the department in Washington. Summing up, we find, for 1881, of common schools 15,932, with an enrollment of 802,982; universities and colleges and professional schools, forty-four, with an attendance of 2,968; normal schools and schools for secondary instruction, eighty-one, with attendance of 13,905. Reports for 1883 would show an increased attendance at nearly all of these schools.

Only a very small proportion have completed the college course in the highest-grade schools. When the circumstances of these people are considered, the wonder is that any have completed it. Those who have completed the higher-course have done enough in true learning and culture to justify the best hopes of those who founded these institutions. Time and again, and by the most competent judges, ample testimony has been borne to the admirable work done in these better-class schools, and to the astonishing results wrought in their pupils. It must be understood that the graduates do not represent the gracious work done by these colleges for colored youth. Perhaps ten times as many have received most valuable instruction as have completed the course, and thousands of them are now teaching in the public schools for their people.

Three years ago the secretaries of the American Missionary Association estimated that at least 150,000 children had been taught more or less by the pupils

educated in the high schools and colleges under their care. As much could be said for all the great societies that have been engaged in this holy work in the South since the war. Such contributions to the civilization and uplifting of the race must tell. They do tell; the race makes progress, real and substantial progress.

SENATOR BROWN'S OPINION.

There is not a candid or progressive man in the South who will not indorse the language of Senator Brown, of Georgia, in an address appealing for national aid to public education, in the United States Senate, December 15, 1880. "I confess," says Senator Brown, "I have better hopes for the race for the future than I had when emancipation took place. They have shown a capacity to receive education, and a disposition to elevate themselves, that is exceedingly gratifying not only to me, but to every right-thinking Southern man."

Alas! all Southern men are not "right-thinking" men. Some deny that the Negro has any capacity, that education is possible or desirable for him. Some of them speak bitterly about the matter. And some Northern papers—shame to them!—are ten times as apt to quote what our wrong-thinking men say as they are to quote what our right-thinking men say. The Northern and Southern people of this country have been singularly unfortunate in not finding out the best things about each other, and they have been singularly successful in finding out the worst things about each other. This is one reason there has been so much wrath and evil-speaking, mud-throwing and lying on both sides, and for so many long, weary years.

THE SKY BREAKING.

The worst fault of the Southern people since the war, in relation to the Negro's education, is not that they themselves have not done more (for they have not, as a class, been able to educate their own children), but that they have not more cordially co-operated with those who were able to do great things and were trying hard to do them. For one, I am sure that I might have done, fifteen years, ten years ago, much that I did not do to help those to whom in God's providence this great work was committed. But in the boiling sea in which we were being tossed and wrecked, and out of which we were struggling to reach the shore, we would not take the wisest view of great questions that were sometimes most rudely thrust upon us. Both sides, so far as understanding each other was concerned, were moving in something like a London fog, made denser by the sulphurous vapors of a bitter war. God be praised! The blue sky is breaking over us all at last.

THE SOUTH AND TRAINING FOR COLORED TEACHERS.

But the South has done, and is doing, more in this work of educating the Negro than most people suppose. For illustration: Maryland appropriates \$2,000 per annum toward the support of a normal school for the training of colored teachers; out of the proceeds of the land-scrip fund donated by Congress Virginia gives \$10,000 for the school at Hampton; South Carolina gives \$7,000 to Claflin University; Georgia, \$8,000 to the Atlanta University; Mississippi pays for the higher education of her colored youths an average of \$10,000 a year; the Constitution of Louisiana provides for this purpose a sum not less than \$5,000 nor

more than \$10,000 per annum; Missouri appropriates \$5,000 per annum to Lincoln University. And other Southern States aid in a similar way for the education of colored teachers.

DR. G. J. ORR'S OPINION.

I quote at this place a few sentences from an address delivered by Dr. G. J. Orr, State School Commissioner for Georgia, before the National Educational Association at Chautauqua in 1880: "Whether the Negroes shall ever be prepared, in mass, for the intelligent, efficient, satisfactory discharge of the duties of citizenship, is a question. I believe they will, in spite of the mistakes that have been committed, if the States, the General Government, and the various Churches shall do their full duty in the matter. That overruling Providence which has shaped the events of the past, will not abandon them or us, if we act like true men and Christians."

The best men and women in the South stand on this platform.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Before leaving this part of my theme I wish to ask: What of the future? The generous Christians of the North have backed their convictions with a great deal of money in trying to educate the Negro. I think they have since 1865 invested more than twenty millions in this work. This is a magnificent expression of benevolence. But what of the future? Such a man as John F. Slater, a man who deserves well of the republic and of the human race, understands that we have just begun this work. Wherefore he lays down one round million of dollars, that its interest may go to help in this vast and interminable work

for a whole race, when he and the others who began it nearly twenty years ago are gone to their reward.

THE TEST OF FAITH YET TO COME.

At this place and time I feel moved to say: 'The real test of the faith of the Church of the original free States is yet to come. The triumph of the Union arms and the emancipation of the slaves in 1865 combined to create such a conviction and enthusiasm as to a great work of benevolence as the world perhaps never saw before. Money was poured out like water, and men and women volunteered by hundreds to undertake the education of the freedmen. Much money was wasted in the first efforts to find the best methods, and many mistakes were made by zeal without knowledge. Nevertheless a vast work was inaugurated and good results were accomplished.

This work has now passed the experimental stage; the period of enthusiasm has nearly ended; a certain sort of romance attendant upon the first movement of this educating army is a thing of the past. We have now come to the point when nothing but the deepest conviction, the most steadfast faith, the most Christ-like love, the most patient persistence, the most systematic benevolence will win. Few things have more saddened me than expressions of disappointment and weariness from some of the veterans engaged in this work. Good men! They expected too much; they thought to see the more substantial fruit of their labors too soon. Many of their pupils have disappointed them in the outcome of their lives. Their hands are weary and their hearts are sad. Now comes the test to them; may they have grace to meet it!

THE WORK OF A HUNDRED YEARS.

Brethren of the North—of the strong and rich and populous North—you have but just begun. You are like the early settlers in the Western wilderness when their first year's work is over: you have made a little clearing; the work of subduing the wilderness has just commenced. Hear me! The children of this race are born faster than you are teaching them. The colleges you have planted are without endowments; for a time they must be supported by your contributions, and these people are without money. Every year they will need more money, for the demand upon them increases. My office, as agent of the "John F. Slater Fund," has brought me much information on these matters. One thing I tell you: What you consider the best and strongest of your colleges and universities in the South are in the greatest need of money. Not because they have been extravagant, but because they have done their work so well that the demands upon them have outgrown their resources. And the demand increases steadily. They must not be strangled in their very cradles. The work upon which you have entered is the work of a hundred years. It cannot go on if you fail. You need not depend upon the South, for a time, to take up the work which you have begun in these colleges and higher schools. Without you it will not; without you it cannot.

Many in the South, particularly among those who are without money, are ready to do for the Negro, set free, all that he is capable of receiving; but the mass of the people are not ready. Perhaps they ought to be, but they are not, and the North should know what

it has to depend on. And the North should be patient. It is not a very long time since its people were ready to take hold of this work; many of them are not ready now. There were never, in any age or country, such radical changes of opinion in so short a time on questions that had been fought over for fifty years as have taken place in the South in the last twenty years on the subject of slavery and of the Negro race. If they had changed more rapidly, their sincerity would have been brought in question.

THE SOUTH CANNOT.

Besides all this, I tell you the South is not able to do this work without large help from the North. Our own colleges were dismantled by the issues of the war; not a few of them have died and been buried—much to the common hurt of this nation. Nearly all of them are crippled now; none of them have the resources they need to do their work. You must put this work on the same basis you place Missions to the heathen world; it must be done in Christ's name and for Christ's sake, if it takes multiplied millions and the labors of ten life-times.

Never in this world did a people assume a heavier or grander responsibility than the people of the North assumed when the Negroes were set free. It will prove a cruel kindness if they are left in ignorance. I believe you will meet the tests of labor and of time. God has given you the means to do it; I know not why, unless you should do a work for God and humanity, involving the best interest of two races and two continents, that the South cannot do at this time and that you alone can do.

THE NEGRO VOTER.

I had thought to speak of the Negro as a voter and a factor in local and national politics, but I have not the heart for it to-day. On Monday I may give you some of the cold and naked facts on this subject. It is enough to say to-day that 70 per cent. of the Negro vote in the South is illiterate. This is all the worse because 30 per cent. of the white vote is illiterate. Moreover, the illiterate vote of both races in the South increased 187,671 between 1870 and 1880.

RESULTS OF HIS FREEDOM.

No question is more wrangled over than the question of the effect of emancipation upon the general fortunes and character of the Negro race. Opinion has not settled down. Some things are clear enough.

1. Freedom brought him heavier cares, but freedom was more than worth the price paid. The prisoner has no care in providing the roof that shelters him or in securing his daily bread. But if he be a man, he would rather have the open sky for his roof, and would rather go hungry free, than to be sheltered and yet in prison. Moreover, the very necessity of providing for themselves, as persons, is to them a boon of infinite blessing; only thus can true manhood grow. It is true that many of them are not as well housed or fed or clothed as when they were slaves, but they would rather have it so and be free. So would I.

2. Of many of them it is true that their morals are worse than when they were slaves. This is not surprising. Freedom and ignorance tend to license in any race. Drinking has increased among them. Prohibition is their hope. In Georgia we have closed the saloons in sixty counties. [In more than one

hundred, 1888.—A. G. H.] But this is also true: Wrongs done by them are noticed now that were unnoticed twenty years ago. When the court takes the place of an overseer a whole county, a whole State, is informed of a matter that was in old times confined to the plantation.

3. A citizen without property, a voter without qualification, the Negro in politics has given and suffered trouble that can't be put into words.

As a class they do not yet comprehend the duties and responsibilities of free citizenship. How should they? The white people have not yet graduated in this school.

But take the question on all its sides and bearings, I do not hesitate in giving it as my sober and assured judgment: The Negro race in the South does make true progress. He is more of a man than he was twenty years ago. The elements of Christian civilization are more pronounced in their character than before. They are beginning to get them humble homes that are their own. As I came through Atlanta I secured a copy of the last report of the Comptroller-general. The returns of 1882 show that the Negroes own in the state of Georgia property worth \$6,589,876, as shown in the tax-lists. Call it \$12,000,000 and we will be nearer its real value, for the Negro does not exaggerate when he gives in his returns of taxable property. Neither do white men. He owns in Georgia 692,335 acres of land. Much of it may be poor, but it is his. Not a little of it is as good as the best. The best of our Negro citizens are those who own their homes. They are not found in mobs or riots; it is a very rare thing to find one of them in a chain-gang.

I know what is said of petit larcenies among them, and of loose notions and looser practices as to the marriage relation. Much of this is sadly true, but these are not new faults with them, nor are they incident to their freedom. Their old life favored these faults. It is not twenty years since the law recognized their marriages. We must teach them the right in all these matters, but we must not declare them incapable of civilization because they fall far below standards which the white race has not reached. The polygamy made possible by easy divorce laws—laws made by white people—does not in itself tend to give them right views of the conjugal relation.

Finally, let me say: Mere statesmanship cannot solve this hard problem. It is not given to the wisdom of man; but God reigns, and God does not fail. We are workers with him in his great designs. When we stand by the cross of Jesus Christ we will know what to do. We can solve our problem, God being our helper. But on no lower platform than this—the platform of the Ten Commandments and of the Sermon on the Mount.

Opinions Concerning the Freedmen and Their Condition.

[Report to Board of Trustees of the "John F. Slater Fund," May 18, 1887.]

In February, 1887, I sent out about three hundred circular letters, asking the best judgment of those to whom they were sent, on the matters inquired about. At the time this report was written I had received two hundred and thirty-six replies. The circulars were sent throughout the South. Preachers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, county officials, school superintendents, merchants, farmers, mechanics, white men, colored men, Church people and people not of the Church, friends to the education of the colored people, and some on

record against it, received these circulars. The circulars requested answers to the following questions:

1. Do colored parents manifest interest in the education of their children?

2. Are the common schools attended by colored children improving in their character?

3. What are the average wages of common laborers among the colored people?

4. Are the colored people disposed to buy land?

5. Are there fewer mulattoes (children with one parent white) born now than twenty-five years ago?

6. Do any considerable number of colored voters side with the Temperance people in prohibition contests?

To the first question one says, "not much;" one, "not generally;" one, "to a limited extent;" one, "not as a few years ago;" one, "spasmodic;" one, "some do, some opposed;" one, "there were only two colored families in my neighborhood, and one moved away to get near a school;" two hundred and twenty-nine answered, "yes." These answers were varied only by the strength of the qualifying words. About one-fifth say, "more than the poor whites." One prominent lawyer says, "so much interest that many white people cannot get the servants they *want* but do not *need*." A dozen say, "not so intense, but more intelligent than a few years ago." Many speak of the sacrifices these people make to educate their children; one says, "will send to school if they have nothing to live on."

Mr. W. H. Baker, the very efficient Superintendent of Public Schools in Savannah, Ga., says: "I desire to have it known that as a result of my observation, which has been extensive, I am convinced that the colored people are exceedingly anxious to educate their children. The colored children in the schools of this city are making rapid progress. They not only show ability for learning what are termed the elementary branches, but seem to grasp without difficulty those studies which are included in the curriculum of what is classed as secondary education. I write this because for many years I held a contrary opinion."

To the second question twelve answer, "don't know;" one, "slowly;" five, "slightly, or but little;" six, "pri-

vate schools, no; public schools, yes;" one, "mentally, not morally;" one, "not as much as desired;" one, "one per cent.;" four, "think not;" two, "little or none—spoiled by political influences;" eight do not answer; one hundred and ninety-six, "yes." In every case where a comment is added to the affirmative answer, the improvement is attributed to the better teachers furnished by the colleges and other training-schools for colored people.

To the third question the answers vary greatly. Throughout the cotton States the average wages for farm laborers—men—is \$10 a month, food and lodging being furnished. The majority work for a part of the crop.

To the fourth question, sixteen say, "no;" eighteen, "desire to buy town lots;" twenty-three, "some do;" eighteen, "not much;" three, "too poor;" one hundred and fifty-eight, "yes." The affirmative answers are generally followed by comments—as: "when they get it they keep it;" "flock to the towns because gregarious;" "go to towns to get near schools;" "go to towns that the women may find employment." One says: "the Negro will buy a kingdom on credit." Another: "any thing on time." Not a few are discouraged because, having bought on the installment plan, they have failed to complete their purchases.

In few States do the tax-lists show the property of the races distinctly. Georgia does, and the report of the Comptroller-general shows the following facts as to the colored people—figures for 1884 not within reach when this went to press.

CHARACTER AND AMOUNT OF PROPERTY RETURNED BY COLORED TAX-PAYERS.

| Years. | Number of Acres. | Value of Land. | Town Property. | Money and Solvent Debts. | Furniture. |
|-----------|------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------|
| 1880..... | 580,664 | \$1,522,173 | \$1,201,992 | \$ 80,752 | \$498,532 |
| 1881..... | 660,358 | 1,754,800 | 1,323,045 | 96,399 | 600,892 |
| 1882..... | 692,335 | 1,877,861 | 1,478,623 | 88,018 | 579,736 |
| 1883..... | 666,538 | 2,065,938 | 1,657,101 | 107,707 | 676,346 |
| 1885..... | 788,576 | 2,302,889 | 2,098,787 | 98,263 | 736,170 |

| Years. | Live Stock. | Farm and other Property. | Other Property. | Aggregate Value of Whole Property. |
|-----------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 1880..... | \$2,054,787 | \$163,086 | \$242,971 | \$5,764,293 |
| 1881..... | 2,213,021 | 225,973 | 264,821 | 6,478,951 |
| 1882..... | 2,031,361 | 193,898 | 340,379 | 6,589,876 |
| 1883..... | 2,361,602 | 238,308 | 475,333 | 7,582,395 |
| 1885..... | 2,245,801 | 228,894 | 382,596 | 8,153,390 |

The aggregate value of the whole property of white people in Georgia for these years was: 1880, \$238,934,126; in 1881, \$254,252,630; in 1882, \$268,519,976; in 1883, \$284,881,901; in 1884, \$294,885,370; in 1885, \$299,146,798.

To the fifth question, ten say, "more;" twenty, "don't know;" one, "in cities there are fewer;" three, "fewer in the country, not in cities;" four, "not much difference;" one hundred and ninety-eight, "yes." Nine-tenths of the affirmative answers add some word of emphasis—as: "decidedly," "unquestionably." A physician in large practice in the country for forty years says, "only one or two per cent. of mulatto births." Every colored man inquired of says "fewer." Every colored man who adds a word of explanation attributes the change to the better character of colored women, some add—the relation of bastardy to law. As many as twenty answers say, "fewer mulatto births, but more professional prostitution among colored women." About the same number say, "fewer, but the women are not better." The majority of answers by white men say, "the women are better." A colored bishop who travels over the entire South, himself a mulatto, says, with emphasis, that "unchastity makes a social difference among the colored people such as was formerly unknown." A planter near Selma, Ala., says: "I have worked four hundred since 1874, and only one white man's child has been born among them.

To the sixth question ten say, "yes, if properly taught;" thirty-seven, "a small per cent.;" twenty-six, "the better and more intelligent class;" twelve, "no;" forty-eight, "under the liquor power;" one hundred and three, "yes." A leading citizen of Atlanta says, "prohibition carried the election here by the Negro vote." Nearly every one alluding to colored preachers and teachers said, "they sided with prohibitionists." One says, "the young men from the colleges are nearly all prohibitionists."

A NATION'S WORK AND DUTY.

If Universal Suffrage, Then Universal Education.

[Chautauqua, N. Y., Monday, August 20, 1883.]

I DO not at this time make the argument on the highest plane—the unspeakable blessings that follow true education in the lifting up of men and the advancement of Christian citizenship. I speak to-day of education in the rudiments of learning as necessary to an intelligent citizenship, and therefore to the well-being of our civil institutions. The higher argument makes itself. I shall plead for national help to do the great work, and ask you to consider the urgent need of the Southern States of the Union as one of the controlling reasons why the National Government should, for a time, extend its powerful aid to supplement the school work of the States.

If any are reminded, in the course of this address, of facts and illustrations and a line of discussion that appeared last spring, in a series of editorials in one of the leading religious journals of the West, I beg that I may not be suspected of plagiarism. I wrote the articles myself.

IN SCHOOL AND OUT OF SCHOOL.

The records of the Department of Education, in Washington City, show that in the recent slave States of the Union the total school population in 1881 was 5,-

814,261. Of these 3,973,676 were white; 1,840,585 were colored children. The school age in these States runs from six to eighteen years. Of the whole number the total school enrollment was 3,034,896; of this number there were of white children 2,232,337; of colored, 802,559. Of the total school population of 5,814,261, 2,779,365 were not enrolled—that is, they were not at school. The whites enrolled numbered 1,741,339; the colored, 1,038,026. In other words, nearly half the white population of school age were out of school, and more than half the colored population. To give the ratios: of the entire school population 52 per cent. were enrolled; 48 per cent. were not enrolled. Of the white children, a fraction over 56 per cent. were enrolled; of the colored, a fraction over 47 per cent. In this matter the whites are only a little better off than the Negroes.

Upon the schooling of the 3,034,896 enrolled in 1881 these States expended the sum of \$13,359,784—that is, \$4.40 per capita. [There is considerable increase in the amount expended in common school work since 1883, but it is still meager, 1888.—A. G. H.] Of these States all but one, I believe, disburse the school funds without discrimination of race. In these States the public school term averages from three to five months; in the cotton States the average is three months. When we say that 3,034,896 children were enrolled in 1881 in the late slave States, this does not mean that so many were at school three months; it is doubtful if two-thirds of the whole number were at school during the full term.

Here, for convenience in remembering, let us come to some round numbers for a moment. Allowing for

the ordinary increase of population since 1881, it is an understatement to say that the school population of the South is now 6,000,000. Of these 4,000,000 are white, 2,000,000 are colored. Of the 6,000,000 about one-half are enrolled and at school.

ADULTS WHO CANNOT READ.

What is the case with the adults in these States? We may just here consider only the case of the voters—there being, however, more illiterate women than men. The total number of men of voting age in these States, as shown by the last census, was 4,154,125. Of these 1,354,974 could neither read nor write—that is nearly one-third of the whole number of voters were illiterate. Of the white voters 30 per cent were illiterate; of the colored vote, 70 per cent. In one of these States the illiterate vote is a majority of the whole number.

GETTING WORSE.

This is bad enough, but it is far from being the worst of this sad case. The worst is this: the illiterate vote in these States is increasing. From 1870 to 1880 the increase of this army of illiterate voters in the South amounted to 187,671. Leaving out Delaware, hardly to be counted in these estimates, the illiterate vote increased in every one of the late slave States. In this downward progress the two races keep well together. The increase of the white illiterate vote was 93,279; of the Negro illiterate vote, 94,392. The whites being in the majority in most of the Southern States, the relative increase of illiteracy is greater among the Negroes. Let us consider details as to a few of these States, fairly representative. In Georgia the illiterate white vote in 1870 was 21,849;

in 1880, 28,571; the Negro illiterate vote in 1870 was 100,551; in 1880, 116,516. In Kentucky the white illiterate vote in 1870 was 43,826; in 1880, 54,956; the colored illiterate vote in Kentucky in 1870 was 37,899; in 1880, 43,177. In Tennessee the white illiterate vote in 1870 was 37,713; in 1880, 46,948; the Negro illiterate vote in 1870 was 55,938; in 1880, 58,601. In Texas the white illiterate vote in 1870 was 17,505; in 1880, 33,085; the Negro illiterate vote in Texas in 1870 was 47,235; in 1880, 59,609.

ROSE-COLOR EVEN HERE.

If things remain as they are, 1890 will show a further increase of this huge illiterate vote. Things will remain as they are in these matters—rather they will grow worse—unless the South gets strong help to bear her double burden of ignorance and poverty.

We are apt to put a rose-color on even such figures as these. A very little ability to read and to write takes out one from the illiterate list in the census tables. The inquiries are not searching, and few men are willing to acknowledge that they cannot read. I make no question that many thousands counted out of the illiterate columns can neither read nor write; it is beyond all question that thousands who can, in a mechanical and imperfect way, do both are less qualified by general information to vote than are many who can do neither. Mere ability to write his name in a rude way and read coarse print with difficulty will take a man's name out of the list of the illiterate, but it furnishes no good proof of fitness to vote. This sort and degree of ability may exist in absolute ignorance of the merits of the issues involved in popular elections.

VOTING FOR A "CHANGE."

Let me give you a fair illustration drawn from life. There is not a touch of fancy or burlesque in it. Since early in 1875 I have had in my employment a colored man of good character and superior qualities. He is more intelligent than the average of his race; he is about my own age; he can sign his name roughly and can read coarse print imperfectly. He is honest through and through. He is not counted among the "illiterates."

You will miss the point of my story unless you bear it distinctly in mind that this worthy man, Daniel Martin by name, has voted the Republican ticket every time since he was made a voter, and that he so votes to this day. If he were told to do so by his party leaders he would to-morrow vote for Abraham Lincoln with serene satisfaction.

Let me show you how well qualified a man may be to vote on national questions who can just write his name and just read a store-keeper's sign. The day before the Hayes and Tilden election Daniel was plowing in a little field near by the house. One of the college students asked: "How are you going to vote to-morrow, Uncle Daniel?" The Southern Negro never delivers a grave judgment in politics or theology without coming to a full pause in whatever engages him. One consequence is that he comes to a great many stops. Moreover, he thinks in metaphor and speaks in parables. So Daniel came to a full stop, and, sticking his plow into the ground, delivered himself as follows: "Now, you see me plowin' along dis furrow here. If I plow dis furrow all de time, I makes dis furrow too deep, and I don't plow de balance ob de patch."

The gentleman admitted the force of the statement.

The philosopher and voter continued: "I think things is ben gwine on long enough in one way; dere ought to be a change; wherefore I'se gwine to vote for Hayes to-morrow."

Talk to him about the tariff, the currency, taxation! As well talk to him about horizontal parallax or spectrum analysis.

The next day he and I went to our county town and voted. He voted for Hayes, that there might be a change; I voted for Tilden, that there might be a change, and we were equal before the law. There is no question so burning in the United States to-day as this: "What can we do with Daniel Martin in politics—the white Daniel and the black Daniel?" I fear he is in the majority.

Every male person twenty-one years old, not an idiot or a felon, is a voter. The vote of the most ignorant weighs as much in law as the vote of the wisest. Daniel Martin is as good as the Chief-justice. You don't solve this problem or meet this danger by declaiming about manhood suffrage.

The case is bad enough in the North and West when we come to consider the votes that control popular elections. But in the South ignorance in some sections is really in the majority. Practically it amounts to this: Where one man in the South knows what he is doing when he votes there is at least one other man who does not know what he is doing. Very often there are two of them.

"ANY BAR-ROOM A BIGGER MAN THAN ANY CHURCH."

The votes of ignorance are not in any country—in Massachusetts or South Carolina, in New York or

Georgia—determined by intelligent discrimination between men and measures. The best thing that ignorant voters can do is to vote on the judgment of the wisest men. But this is the thing they are least of all likely to do. As a rule the illiterate voter is not under the guidance of the wisest and best men, but of the cunningest and most unscrupulous men. That bar-keeper in Richmond, Va., was right who said, when an approaching election was being discussed: "Any bar-room in Richmond is a bigger man than any Church in the city." Who shall contradict him? Who is there that does not know that not your best man but your worst man has most power over the illiterate vote?

The most dangerous element in the voting of the illiterate is not that ignorance disqualifies them for rational judgments on public questions, but that it exactly qualifies them to become the tools of bad men.

It is neither exaggeration nor fancy; more than one-half the vote in the South (I much doubt if the South is alone in this trouble) represents just this: the wishes of wire-pullers and bad men.

WHAT DETERMINES THE HUGE ILLITERATE VOTE?

1. In small part the advice of intelligent men. 2. In great part the management of shrewd men. 3. In large part bribes in one form or another. 4. In considerable part prejudice, inevitable to ignorance, whether of white people or Negroes.

What does voting like this signify to republican institutions?

HONEST ELECTIONS THROUGH INTELLIGENT VOTES.

There is another matter of measureless moment to be mentioned here: Where a majority, or even a

great part of the voters, are illiterate, cheating in elections is as easy as it is certain. The wrong done to the illiterate in such cheating is less than the injury done in those who do the cheating. In the one case a vote, cast by a man who does not know its value, is not counted, or is miscounted; in the other a man who does know its value is debauched by corrupt politics.

Denouncing corruption in elections will not give us honest elections; there are dishonest elections wherever they are possible. Honest elections must at least be made possible by qualifying the electors to vote rationally. As long as office-seekers are self-seekers so long will they manipulate fraudulently the votes of the ignorant.

DESTROYING THE FOUNDATIONS.

This is not all. There never was one man who knows why he votes, especially if he pays all the taxes, satisfied to have another man who does not know what he is doing, especially if he pays no taxes, vote him down. There never were one million of men who know why they vote, and who pay the taxes, who would long endure to be voted down by another million who do not know what they do in voting and who pay no taxes. This is in no wise a question of color, but of capacity. A sensible man who pays tax is as unwilling to be voted down by an ignorant white man who pays no tax as by an ignorant Negro who pays no tax. It would be hard to prove that the capable ought to endure being voted down by the incapable. If they do, the ends of the government are destroyed. This side the millennium capable men will not, if they can help it, endure such voting down of intelligence by

ignorance. After the millennium there will not be such voting. If capable men are forced to endure such voting, they come to abhor republican institutions. When this feeling is fixed in the hearts of men the foundations are destroyed. If imperialism ever comes to this country it will not be through the sword of the strong or the purse of the rich, but through the despair of the wise and the good.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO

with the ugly facts revealed by the inexorable census tables?

The treatment of these facts will depend on those to whose attention they are brought. Some men will not think of them at all; disagreeable facts they ignore because the study of them disturbs their repose. But we do not do away with the facts by shutting our eyes to them. As well reject vaccination and quarantine when small-pox is epidemic, and pacify our fears with affidavits that there is no small-pox, or that it is not dangerous, or that it is, upon the whole, rather an advantage, as giving employment to undertakers.

Some among those who control the press of the country are content to publish these ugly and portentous facts as "news items." Others, seeing that here is something to arrest attention and to awaken anxieties and with a vague notion that something ought to be done, deliver lectures to the South, telling her for the thousandth time that she is behind the times. No efficient remedy this for the evils indicated by the facts.

Some are in despair; they have sunk down into the abyss of political pessimism; they say that there is no remedy; the country is going to destruction. They

despair of the republic. With all their railings and wailings these men are not true lovers of our institutions.

OTHERS ARE INDIFFERENT

when you talk about a million or two of voters who cannot read the ballots they cast. They don't care. They are favorites of fortune; they are having a good time in this world. They are busy making, hoarding, or spending their money. To them the poor and ignorant are social nuisances, to be hated rather than otherwise. Of the government, of republican institutions they know little and care less. They have no national feeling in them; they affect foreign airs; they sneer at their own country; they are utterly devoid of patriotism. Over their wines they talk of imperialism. And this class controls a great deal of money.

Very careless, indifferent, and heartless they are, but they have abundant reason to care. The ignorant vote, that holds the balance of power, is a constant menace to the institutions that secure them in the enjoyment of their gold, their bonds, and their palaces. This great, black giant of ignorance—many-handed, grim, and desperately hungry sometimes—is digging away at the foundations.

THE TRUE WONDER.

Illiteracy, with its train of evils, is bad enough in some other States, but the condition of things in the States of the South is simply appalling. Nothing is more surprising than that there has not been more trouble in these States since 1865 than they have suffered. The wonder is not that there has been disorder, but that there has not been chaos. The almost

entire absence of speculative infidelity in the South, particularly in the rural districts—where the mass of the population is—the prevalence of the Church and of the much-despised conservatism of the South, have saved these States from communistic outbreaks and other deviltry that would have brought ruin utter and final. But ignorance is no safeguard against fanaticism. It would be a bad day for us all if this huge mass of ignorance were organized and turned against any of the foundation principles of government and social order. Then the deluge.

VAIN TRUST IN PROVIDENCE.

There are some worthy and weak people, patriotic enough so far as mere sentiment goes, who smile at the apprehensions of the thoughtful student of facts and rely complacently upon what they dream of as the glorious destiny of the republic. They talk about Providence. There is no blinder folly than a faith in Providence that refuses to use the means that Providence appoints for securing gracious results. Providence never yet saved any nation that refused to do what it could to save itself. Such a nation is not worth saving; such a nation cannot be saved. Salvation of any sort must proceed according to law; there is no saving a man or nation in violation of law. It would be a violation of law, fundamental and absolute, to save republican institutions by the votes of men who do not know what they are doing. No device of law, no constitutional amendments, no decisions of courts, no force of arms can secure institutions that depend on elections determined by ignorance.

SOME VISIONARIES AND DOCTRINAIRES

calm their fears by their confidence in the educating

power of the ballot. The ballot has this educating power when placed in the hands of ignorance: it discovers its power to the point of making the best bargain with candidates and parties when voters are wanted.

A PLEA FOR POOR WHITE PEOPLE.

So far in this address I have not made special pleas for national aid on the ground of the illiteracy of the Negro race in the South; I have asked attention to the Southern illiteracy in bulk, and fearful it is. A white man who knows nothing is as dangerous a voter as any other man who knows nothing. Worse he may be; worse he is if he has more force. If he is superior in any respect, his superiority makes him more dangerous. When machinery is out of order the greater the power that drives it the greater the ruin. Thoughtful men in the South are awake to the danger that lurks in the white illiterate vote of their section. When they cry to the nation for help they want education for the children of their white as well as of their colored fellow-citizens.

THE STRESS AND URGENCY OF THE APPEAL.

But, as all informed people know, the condition of the lately-emancipated people in the South constitutes the stress and urgency of the appeal we make to the nation for such help to meet this great emergency as only the nation can extend.

There are now about seven millions of Negroes in the United States, nearly one-eighth of the whole population. The great mass of them are crowded into eight or ten of the late slave States. They increase faster than the whole population. The increase of the whole population from 1870 to 1880 was

30.06 per cent.; the increase of the white population, aided enormously by foreign immigration, was 28.82 per cent.; the increase of the Negro population, unaided by immigration, was 34.78 per cent. If you doubt the lessons of the census for one decade, take ten. There were 700,000 Negroes in this country one hundred years ago. Now there are 7,000,000. They have multiplied ten times in a hundred years. How many will there be by 1983? Thoughtful people will consider these things.

VITAL QUESTIONS.

Out of these facts arise questions that concern the very life of the Southern States. The Negroes are there, and there to stay. If they wanted to go elsewhere—and they do not want to go elsewhere—they are born faster than they could be moved. There is no place to send them if there were a way. The “exodus”—big word for a little thing—only showed that the mass of them prefer to stay where they are. If the Negroes could endure it, it might be well if a hundred thousand of them would move into each Northern and Western State. It would call attention to their wants, and it might develop reasonable patience where it is greatly needed. But do not be uneasy; they are not going to move in large numbers into the States of the North and West. Neither the climate nor the people suit them; the climate is too cold and the people work too hard.

NOT A SOUTHERN QUESTION.

This question presses the South most sorely now, but it is not a Southern question. The whole nation should have a care for what so deeply concerns the South; for the South is a vast region of untold pos-

sibilities, indissolubly bound to the Union. The nation affirmed, through a long and bloody war, that it cannot get on without the South; the South accepts the verdict of that war; the South has concluded that it cannot get on without the nation. We are one people, and we expect to remain one people.

To the people of the South it is a matter of overwhelming concern that these millions of Negroes, made citizens in a day, and armed with the ballot before they knew what it meant, should at the earliest possible moment be qualified for citizenship. But is this a Southern interest only? Is it a matter of small moment to Massachusetts, to Connecticut, to New York, to Illinois, to Minnesota, or to any States of the Union—free from this trouble and danger of a vast illiterate Negro citizenship—that Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, or any other Southern State, are now wrestling with the hardest problems ever forced upon any people? Does government by illiterate votes in the South mean nothing to the States North and West? May States exposed to all the perils involved in illiterate majorities suffer the evils inevitable to such conditions without infecting with the deadly virus other States more fortunate in these respects?

RECOGNITION THROUGH TYPHUS FEVER.

Carlyle tells a grim story of a poor Scotch pauper woman who could not from any human soul get recognition of sisterhood. Whereupon she died of typhus fever; typhus fever killed seventeen other persons in her alley, and thus she got recognition of sisterhood.

These illiterate majorities do not concern State elections only; they enter into the election of Presi-

dent, and largely determine the constitution of Congress. If a man in New England is interested in the election of President or of the Congress, he is interested that voters in the South should have some knowledge of what they do when they deposit their ballots.

MUST BE TAUGHT THE RUDIMENTS.

What is to be done? These people—these ignorant people, white and black, for the most part wretchedly poor—must be taught; at least their children must be taught; they must have the keys of knowledge; they must be taught to read, to write, and to keep accounts. As to the great majority of the parents of the untaught children of the South, it is as much as they can do to live in a very plain and humble way. They are unable to meet the expenses of the education of their children.

THE SOUTH CANNOT DO THIS WORK.

Some say: "Let the Southern States, by general taxation, educate their own illiterates." This is virtually the doctrine laid down by Senator Logan in the April number of the *North American Review*. Easy solution this, so far as mere words go. *But the Southern States cannot do it.*

In proportion to ability the Southern States are now doing about as much as the best Northern States; they are doing more than some. For example: The State of New York is worth in taxable property as much as all these Southern States; leaving out Missouri, classified with the Western States in the last census, it is worth more than all of them. The sum of money expended on public schools is about the same—that is, the school tax is about equal in the

Southern States to the school tax in the State of New York.

Some will answer: "If New York had as many illiterates, she would levy a heavier tax." I answer: If New York had such illiterates, she could not pay more.

THE TRUE GAUGE OF LIBERALITY.

But in such comparisons it is the poorer States that deserve most credit. It is much harder for a poor man to pay one per cent. upon his little property than for the rich man to pay one per cent. upon his great property, for the rich man has more left. What is left after paying to a good cause is a better gauge of liberality and public spirit than what is given.

CHARLESTON AND BOSTON.

To illustrate the general statement that the South is not able to take care of its hordes of illiterate children, let us compare two cities—Charleston, S. C., and Boston, Mass. The facts now to be stated are taken from an official report by Mayor Courtney, of the city of Charleston. Mayor Courtney says: "The facts are these: In the first place the assessed values in the city of Charleston were in 1860 \$45,000,000; in 1880, \$21,000,000—a reduction of more than one-half of taxable values in the face of an obligation to educate more than double the number of children. This heavy load has been assumed up to the highest pitch of taxation, however, as the facts show. The taxation in the city of Charleston in 1880, for public schools, was three and one-half mills, made up under a levy of two mills under the State law, one and one-quarter mills under the special city tax, and one-quarter of a mill special levy to rebuild Friend Street

School—in all amounting to about \$73,500 a year on public schools. And this is exclusive of annual appropriations to the high schools of Charleston and to Charleston College. How much above a maximum this is, and what a burden this is, is evident upon comparison. For instance, compare this taxation with that of the city of Boston, whose schools are models and whose people have the world-wide reputation of giving liberally for educational institutions, and we find that the city of Boston gave a total of two and a half millions in 1880 for a complete public school establishment of seven high schools, two Latin schools, one normal school, forty-nine grammar schools, and four hundred and eight primary schools. The city of Charleston gives in proportion nearly half as much again as Boston for her primary schools alone, and gives, in addition, annual appropriations to the high schools and Charleston College. We must remember also that this is done, too, by our people under a very heavy debt of the city, the interest of which requires ten mills of annual taxation. Again, consider that, beside the State tax, the total tax of Charleston city is two and one-quarter per cent., while that of Boston is only one and one-quarter per cent.”

1860 AND 1880.

Let us now consider briefly whether the Southern States, with less than half the resources of 1860, are able to educate three times the number of children then knocking at their door. Brief statements will suffice for men who are informed on these subjects, and who take counsel of facts rather than prejudices when they form their conclusions. Take Georgia, more prosperous than most Southern States. In 1860

her taxable property was in round numbers \$750,000,000; in 1880, \$238,000,000. In 1860 the wealth in Georgia, exclusive of the value of slaves, was over \$500 per capita; in 1880, about \$150. In 1881 Georgia paid for her public schools within \$1,500 of half a million dollars. At the same rate on her *ante-bellum* property her school fund would have been over one and a half millions of dollars.

The taxable property of Virginia in 1860 was \$585,098,382.77; in 1880, \$324,955,980. Yet in 1880 Virginia expended upon her schools \$1,100,239; at the same rate with her *ante-bellum* property her school fund would have been nearly two millions.

Dexter A. Hawkins, Esq., of New York City, in an address before the "Social Science Association," at the meeting held in Saratoga, September, 1877, stated the case thus: "The assessed valuation for taxation of property, real and personal, in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, in 1860, was \$3,244,239,406; in 1870, \$1,883,803,180—a shrinkage in ten years of 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent."

In some of these States it is less in 1880 than in 1870, and in every one the increase of population is greater than the increase of property.

A HISTORY THAT STANDS ALONE.

When the Civil War ended these States were crushed. They were utterly disorganized in all their industries; the investments that represented the savings of their past history were swept away; they were poor beyond conception to those who were not in that bitter experience. What has been their history for nearly twenty years? A constant struggle with pov-

erty. Embarrassed by new and strange conditions entering into, complicating, and for a time antagonizing, all their efforts at enterprise; overweighted in every effort to get on their feet; loaded down with burdens and responsibilities, these States have done what they could to bear and to meet them. Hope and life would have died out of the hearts of people with less courage, fortitude, and endurance. They deserve respect, at least, that they did not despair of themselves. We cannot compare the history of the past twenty years in the Southern States with any other; that history stands alone.

AN INCREASING WEIGHT AND A SHORTENING LEVER.

What has been achieved in reorganizing society, in building up the country and its institutions, has been accomplished with prodigious effort. These people have been lifting an increasing weight with a shortening lever. For while there have been true progress and real growth in the industries of the South, the responsibilities of taking care of an ignorant population have grown faster than the ability of these States to meet them. If any doubt, let them compare the increase of the non-tax-paying population (in ten years the increase of the Negro population was more than 34 per cent.) with the meager increase of taxable property in some States and its actual decrease in others.

The plain truth is that the tax-paying people of the South have, as a whole, not been able to educate their own children; nevertheless they have expended what school funds they had without distinction of race.

If it be demanded of me, let it be granted that there is not so great an interest in popular education

in the Southern States as in some others. But this only increases the force of the argument; for it increases the peril that is in our huge mass of illiteracy and diminishes the ability to meet it of those who are awake to the facts of the case. Beyond all question thousands of the best people in the South are as fully awake to the truth of things and the needs of the hour as men can be. But for the most part those men who do see and who feel on this subject of education are poor—poorer than any other men of culture and character in the United States. They have done their best—lamenting their inability to do more. Nothing is more certain than that the South cannot, unaided, meet the emergency that is now upon her.

SENATOR LOGAN'S VIEWS.

I have heretofore alluded to Senator Logan's views, as set forth in an article in the April number of the *North American Review*. The Senator is not afraid of the cost; he is very generous; he thinks the Government ought to aid the public schools of the States; he thinks it ought to expend at least forty millions of dollars annually in this cause. But he cannot for a moment entertain the principles of the Blair and other bills before Congress, that the nation's help should be dispensed in proportion to the nation's needs. He will not hear to illiteracy as a basis for distribution. That principle, he shows, would give the largest portion to the States once owning slaves and once in rebellion! He reminds us that slaves were prohibited from learning to read under the old *regime*. He says, in these words: "The illiteracy therefore of the colored population, now complained of as a serious burden, is the deliberate policy of those States in the past."

Has the gallant general, then, no pity for the ex-slaves he fought so bravely to free from such laws? Has he no pity for their children? Would he punish the old slave-holders? Most of them are dead. Would he punish all the white people of the South because the slave-holders would not allow their slaves to go to school? The majority of the white people of the South never owned slaves. Would he now punish slavery and secession by withholding from the children in the South the help he is willing to give so generously to those who neither need nor ask it? The school children in the South were in their cradles or have been born since Appomattox. Are the children's teeth to be kept on edge forever? And must the Negro children be kept in ignorance lest the children of white men in the South should also be taught? That article was not worthy the Senator's fame as a soldier or a statesman.

We are told that hundreds of thousands of dollars are sent into the South every year by Northern charity to help to do this work of education. This is true, and this patriotic and Christian benevolence is appreciated to the fullest by the best people. Heaven reward the givers and the workers who in the time of our calamity have helped us like brothers!

But this should be considered as entering into the question of the ability of the Southern whites to do the work that is upon them (and it is the ability of the Southern white people that is to be inquired into, since they pay the taxes): nearly all the money sent South since 1865 for educational purposes has been devoted to the education of the Negroes. Especially is this true of the great sums expended by the

Churches and benevolent societies of the North. This we do not regret; we do not envy the Negroes the help that Providence sent them. They needed it sorely, and we rejoice with them. But this method of help, good as it is, has left the white people—thousands of them as poor as the Negroes—to struggle with their own burdens without the help the Negroes had; and left to the white people who were a little better off the burden of their own responsibilities in the matter of education, and the obligation to pay nearly all the taxes that were levied for such public schools as were for both races and all classes.

Moreover, the school work done in the South for the Negroes by Northern money has not been in the primary or public schools. This could not be; the means were utterly inadequate. That work has looked to the preparation of teachers for the most part. And herein is now the Government's opportunity; the Churches and individuals have been preparing the way for its more potent aid.

Nothing less needs the proving than this: there must be more schools and better. They will cost money—a great deal of money—more than these States can raise. Where is it to come from? From individuals? A nation cannot depend on individuals to do a work almost too great for the whole people. From Churches and other benevolent societies? They are but aggregations of individuals and societies, representing but a part of the people; they cannot do a work that belongs to all.

VIEWS OF EX-PRESIDENT HAYES.

Far nobler, far more statesmanlike, were the words

of Ex-president Hayes, at Woodstock, Conn., last Fourth of July. After stating with great force the need of national aid and the right and duty of the General Government to give it, Mr. Hayes said: "I do not debate the question, Who was responsible for slavery? It is perhaps enough to say that the Union and the Constitution breathed into this nation the breath of life. To the Union and to the Constitution we are indebted for our present prosperity, power, and prestige, and the still more inspiring future which lies before us. The Union and the Constitution, to which we owe all that we are and have been, contained and recognized slavery. All who took part in forming the Union or in framing the Constitution, all who maintained them down to the war which brought emancipation, are in some degree and in some sense responsible for slavery. The only American citizens who are in no way responsible for slavery are the sons of Africa. And it is especially these colored people who now, eagerly and with uplifted hands, implore the nation for that which education alone can give, and without which they cannot discharge the duties which the Constitution requires by making them citizens and voters. In the history of popular education nothing is better settled than this: The only power able to establish and support an efficient system of universal education is the Government. In the South, by reason of slavery and its pernicious legacies, to provide for the free education of all by free education is simply impossible. The colored people were held in bondage, and therefore in ignorance, under the Constitution of the nation. They were set free and made citizens and voters by the most solemn expressions of

the nation's will; and now, therefore, the duty to fit them by education for citizenship is devolved upon the whole people."

Mr. Hayes concluded his address in these wise words: "To complete reconstruction and regeneration in the South the only force now left to the Government is popular education. Let national aid to this good cause be withheld no longer. Let it be given by wise measures, based on sound principles and carefully guarded; but let it be given promptly, generously, and without stint, to the end that the whole American people, of every race and of every nationality, may be reared up to the full stature of manhood required for intelligent self-government under our republican institutions."

A NATIONAL DUTY.

It is a national duty to aid the States in educating these millions of illiterate children, for national interests are involved in it. It is a national duty, for it must be done; the States most deeply involved cannot do it, and the nation can easily do it. It is a national duty for the plain historical reason that the nation, as such, made these millions of Negroes citizens and voters before they were prepared for their new duties and relations, and in the very act of doing it and by the very method of doing it took from those who are now called on to prepare them for their new duties and relations the ability to do it.

The men of the South accept the issues of the war; and they may well use the language of the Hon. W. E. Forster, of the English Parliament, in reply to the radical wing of his own party: "*You demand universal suffrage; I demand universal education to go with it.*"

THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

We hear somewhat about the right of the General Government to grant this aid to public schools in the States.

It is too late to raise this question. From the time of Washington the General Government has been doing things that involved the principle and asserted the right to extend aid from the public funds to the work of education in the States. Time and again Congress has set aside public lands for the use of education in the different States. As to this call for national aid, so far as the South is concerned in it, there is one fact already alluded to—a fact lying right in the heart of the question, that no constitutional metaphysics or legal sophistries can dispose of or make other than it is—to wit: The nation exercised the right to declare several millions of slaves free citizens, and gave them the ballot before they could read. The time has come that the nation should exercise the right, seeing that it has the ability, to do what can be done to prepare them to be what they are not—intelligent citizens; to do what it can to help them to get ready to be free indeed, and that they may vote not merely as “freedmen,” but as free men. If the nation owes nothing to its own safety, it owes this to its “wards.”

AID THROUGH THE STATE SYSTEMS.

Some seem to be troubled about what they suppose to be a drift toward centralization in this proposed national aid to education. There is small danger if common sense prevails—and the American people have common sense. The Government would naturally and necessarily dispense its aid through the State

school systems already existing. This would be the natural method, for the very conception is aid, not substitution, and there are public school systems in all the States; and, as systems, they are as good as any the Government could devise. This would be the necessary method, for no other is practicable in a government organized like ours. Senator Logan is clearly right when he says: "For the General Government to establish a separate national system of education would as a matter of course not only entail upon the people an additional and unnecessary expense, but would undoubtedly bring the national and State authorities into constant conflict."

Two distinct systems of public education for the same children in the same territory cannot go on at the same time without destruction to education itself. In the States which would receive from the General Government less than their own expenditure the weaker system established by the Government would fail of success. Where the Government expenditure would be larger than the State expenditure the State system would be destroyed. A system run by the General Government would be for the States—if they are to continue to exist—the worst of all evils. It would educate backwards, and in a generation would destroy all sense of responsibility in the State Government in regard to education. At the end of the national experiment the State systems—in the weaker States most certainly—would be non-extant, and the end would be worse than the beginning.

A distinct Government system would add tenfold to the corruption of politics. It would introduce the most vicious system of patronage possible in a repub-

lican government. Education would itself be merged into politics, and the very springs of national life would be poisoned. Such a system may suit Germany, for in Germany the people belong to the empire; it would not suit America, for in a republic the Government belongs to the people. In this case the function of the Government in relation to the State systems is analogous to the function of a city government in the matter of its water supplies. It is the city's business to furnish water plentiful and pure; but the washing of children's faces is better done by their mothers.

NONSENSE OR PREJUDICE.

I have read somewhat, in current discussions of this subject, of distrust of the South if the proposed Government aid should be dispensed through the State systems. This is either a groundless fear or an unreasonable prejudice.

There are not lacking some leading journals that seek to "fire the Northern heart" by the suggestions of "rebel text-books" used in the schools of the South. This is nonsense or worse. I know of but three sets of Southern text-books in common use by Southern schools. One is a series in mathematics, one in Greek, and one in Latin. It is easy to find out the truth in the case. Nearly all our text-books are published in the North. Ask your publishers what books the South buys.

On this whole subject it is right to say and it is time to say: Desperate as the South's need is in her effort to carry her double burden of poverty and ignorance, if aid from the General Government comes in such forms and under such conditions that its very

presence in the South becomes a token of eternal distrust, then the South don't want it at all, and it is better for all concerned that it should never be given.

SHOES TO WEAR TO SCHOOL.

Some tell us that this "paternal" theory of government—this call upon the Government for help to educate—involves the right to call for other help—as, for example, "shoes for the children to wear to school." To this sort of stuff I make answer: If wearing shoes enters into the essence of the qualifications of a voter, and voters cannot by any means possible to them procure shoes in order to vote intelligently, why, in the name of common sense let the nation buy them shoes, or have done with the farce of voting. But a man may be a qualified voter without wearing shoes. Indeed, one may conceive of a barefoot philosopher voting wisely; but he cannot conceive of a philosopher who is also an ignoramus. No more can we conceive of a citizen qualified as an elector who does not know what he is doing.

If the nation, through its Congress, grants this petition for aid to promote universal education, the money will be used wisely and honestly, for the best people in the country will be vitally concerned in its proper use, and the whole people—the rich, the poor, the white and the black people—will feel a deep and personal interest in it. Every father will feel himself bound to watch with ceaseless vigilance that this precious money, the gift of his country for educating his children, shall be honestly, economically, and wisely used. Whatever may become of the Blair bill, or other measures seeking national aid, this remains: *it is ignorance that makes voting dangerous.*

CONCERT OF WAR SONGS.

Judge Tourgee's Speech.

[Friday, August 24, 1883, Union and Confederate war songs were sung by the great choir in the amphitheater. Judge A. W. Tourgee responded in behalf of the North; Atticus G. Haygood in behalf of the South. As the second speaker made one reference to Judge Tourgee's speech, it is, in fairness, given here fully; both speeches being here printed, without note or comment, as furnished by the short-hand reporter. The reporter's preface to the second speech is printed also, as published in the *Chautauqua Assembly Daily*.]

IT is eighteen years, three months, and twenty-four days since the end of what we call the war, since the last man bearing arms against the Government of the United States surrendered.

Dr. Vincent asked me last week if I would be present to-day at a service which should consist in the main of a repetition of our old battle songs. I suppose that no such invitation could ever be given to an old soldier and not be accepted. I should not dream it to be possible to ask a man to contemplate the best portion of his life without his being always ready to do it; and I never yet heard of a soldier that did not look back on those days as the best of his life, no matter which side he was on. But it is a significant thought that now, after eighteen years, for almost the first time since a year or two after the close of the war, we have turned back to the old songs. One-

half of all of those who knew any thing about the war as a conscious fact are dead; one-half of all those who listened to the echoes of battle have passed beyond the echoes of earth. And now we few who knew its terrors and its trials; we few who felt its loss with others that stood waiting and suffering and sighing for the great event—we have met with this vast audience of those who knew nothing of it, and have come again to sing the songs that were echoed in our ears for years. It is an admirable and healthy thing.

First, because it is a good thing for the American people to sing English songs of any kind. [Applause.] Under the modern rule and reign of æstheticism, under the terrors of what is called classical music [applause], very few people who dare sing aloud before anybody else have courage to sing English words to good solid tunes that a human being can understand. [Laughter and applause.] There is one fact lives in all history: No nation can achieve success, no nation can hold itself at the front in the march of civilization that does not sing its own songs, sing them early, sing them late, at home, in company, everywhere. [Applause.] It was not the German army that conquered France; it was the "*Wacht am Rhein*." It was not the mere power of the bayonet that made our cause in the late war a success, but it was that moral influence that set every man's blood flying when such songs as these were sung. I do not believe there is a soldier who cannot look back to many a time in that life of his when the throb of determination and the purpose that he never knew before and never will know again came with those melodies. And one of the things that I am proudest of is that while we

fought the enemy we gave them our songs; even while we sent the bullets whistling over them we gave them our songs to sing, and they sung them around their camp-fires. The first time I ever heard that tramp chorus that we have heard to-day it was sung by a brigade of Confederate troops about their camp-fires.

Dr. Haygood: That is one of our songs. [Laughter.]

Judge Tourgee: Certainly it was.

I remember another occasion of that kind. I had not heard, as late as the spring of 1863, that wonderful song that, more than any other, from that time on thrilled the whole land—the “Battle-hymn of the Republic”—and the first time I ever did hear it was within the walls of Libby Prison. No words can tell its power as night after night it was there sung, our Confederate guards joining in it, learning it, and singing it day after day thereafter. [Addressing Dr. Haygood.] That was not one of yours. [Laughter.] Ah! We gave it to them, and glad we were to give to them as to take from them.

I remember another occasion, of which I will speak but lightly because I shall never forget its force. It was not long before the terrible struggle at Chancellorsville. The Fourteenth Corps and another part of our army were coming up from the northern part of Georgia, marching along the gorges of the mountain—a cold, dark night, with the north-east blast coming over us. Ever and anon, as parties of soldiers would halt and kindle their fires, the trees and stumps of the forest would be lighted up and the soldiers be seen looking down from the hills, standing about their camp-fires, while mile after mile could be heard ring-

ing out the words of "John Brown's Body" like a wave of wonderful, terrible power and life come down. I shall never forget that night and that scene. I say I am glad that we are turning back to these songs; I am glad that we are singing again these old songs, for another reason too.

I am glad we are beginning to think of our nation's life as something not to be cast aside and not to be forgotten. I am glad we had a war; I am glad we had *that* war; I am glad that my brother sits there, a man that had nerve enough to fight for something. I have no use for a land or a people or an age that does not believe something, and believe it hard enough to fight about it. I have no use for a thousand things that come by simply sitting down and wishing for them. Indeed, they don't come that way. No worthy thing in all history has come except by that power which wields the sword and makes men heroes. I do not believe in talking about the animosities of the war; the war never had any animosities; the war was the result of animosities, not the cause of them. It was the result of that development which put two great peoples, hostile to each other before the sword was drawn, side by side, and thrilled two great nationalities, each one with a common purpose, antagonistic to each other. No man made the war; no set of men made the war. God brought it about in his providence as a part of that scheme of progress that is marked out for our nation. It is not to be forgotten; the songs enshrined the best of our nation's thought. The thought of that day was the best our land has known, and was the index of the best it can know! Instead of regretting the past, instead of thinking of

its animosities, it is our business and our duty to cherish in the minds and hearts of our children the memories of that time and of the events and principles which it developed and on which it was based.

I wish to say one thing with regard to those who were our enemies. Enemy is a good, honest, strong word. There was not any fun about it; nobody was playing at fighting; it was not a business we entered into, either on the part of the North or of the South, for the *big* of it; it was a job that each one undertook in dead earnest, because both sides believed they were right. And from one stand-point both were right. Both were right from the stand-point from which they stared; in the underlying idea and principle both were right. I do not say it with any idea of flattery; I do not say it because our Confederate friends—a few of them—are here. Not one bit of it. It has been my good fortune, after passing through that struggle, to have passed the greater portion of my life in the midst of Confederate soldiers. They were my neighbors, they were my friends, and plenty more of them my enemies as well. I honor them both. One great thing that I honor the South for to-day is that it has not given up and acknowledged that it was wrong. You will pardon me; I am talking solid blocks of truth. I would have no sort of use for the Southern people as a whole, nor would you either when you come to think of it, if at the close of the war they had sat down and said: "We are wrong; we know that we are wrong." You would have known that they believed they were wrong at the outset and were scoundrels all the way through. I honor the Southern man because I believe that he was honest in

his belief; and, accepting his belief as true, he was right. Taking the stand-point from whence he started, he was just as right as we were—starting from another. I say we have no right to forget this heritage of manhood.

A man said to me—a great, wise, good man—a few months ago: “I cannot understand why it is that the Southern people, or certain portions of them, still persist in believing that they were right.” “Simply,” said I, “Doctor, because they believed it—that was all.” That ends the matter. Men having the stamina of manhood about them; having the pluck and nerve to endure that wonderful siege of Petersburg; men having the power to go through that struggle barefoot, and looking and hoping for something more than simply something to wear; men enduring what the Confederate army did endure—which was infinitely more than what we were called upon to face—are men worth saving, because they have pluck and determination; and that is why I think the South is worth saving to-day, and worth fighting with to-day. I do not care at all that we should be at peace with the South. I think it is a most insignificant motive that we should be at peace with the South. Under a monarchy internal peace is valuable, but under a republic there is no good comes except by conflict. For fifty years North and South had been arrayed against each other on one great thought. Men had grown up infused on both sides with their respective views of that idea, and as the thought grew hotter the struggle—the intellectual and the moral struggle—grew fiercer and warmer, and by and by came the explosion, and men were fused into heroes, and our nation gath-

ered out of it more strength than it will ever lose. We reaped a harvest of manhood as well as a treasure of holy graves. The South, in those four years of war, made greater strides toward a higher and better development than it had made in fifty years before, and it fitted men like Dr. Haygood to have ideas outside of the old line—ideas in which they believe as strongly as they do in the old ones. I do not at all desire that we should have an era of perfect peace, when all men should sit down and shake hands and congratulate each other that we all agree; then would come a time of stagnation, and what we have gained would be lost. The struggle between men, whether of brain and nerve or a struggle of force, of man against man physically, is that which brings out the best. It is God's method of making a man better than he ever was, or ever would be otherwise. So that I say I would not have our brothers of the South forget that struggle. I would have them remember the days of the war, the days that were evil and sore, that tried men's souls as the souls of men were rarely tried before. I would not have them forget the men of that day; I would not have them dishonor the memory of their dead by confessing in any manner that they were, with their views, wrong. Neither would I have them standing to-morrow and agreeing with us, simply because we think we are right. It is the worst state of mind for a people to be in. I would fight them till they were right; I would keep on fighting them till they are right; would fight with them; I would fight against them; I would fight them early, I would fight them late. I would have them fight us in the same way. Whenever, wherever, and

however they believe they are right, let them stand to it, not only say so but fight it out and make it a fact if they can. There is where our defense comes. We may be right yesterday and wrong to-day; we may be right to-day and wrong to-morrow; but we have a right to whatever honesty, to whatever strength, to whatever intelligence there may be in the America of the South, of the East, or of the West, to put us who are wrong right; and because we are stubborn men it will take stubborn men to do it. Look back along the nation's history; point me to one single principle of value in our nation that is not the result of struggle. Now the results of this war, as we call them, the results of that wonderful chain of events that preceded the war, taken in connection with that war, have left strangely alike and yet strangely unlike developments. Our friends from the South, the majority of them, look upon that which is to-day from only one point of view; we look at it from another. There are exceptions on both sides of the line; they are growing, perhaps, on both sides of the line. It is well, but yet it is a matter of struggle, and that struggle which lies before us to-day is a struggle not of flesh with flesh; it is not for taking the manacles from chained hands, but it is to take the manacles from chained hearts and souls. Emancipation was not accomplished by the sword; it was not accomplished by any statute; it was not accomplished by any proclamation, and it could not have been; you cannot make a man free by sword, or ballot, or law; you can only make a man free by giving him an opportunity, by giving him the power to work out his freedom and become a free man through his own efforts; you can emancipate the

slave by educating the freedman. Do whatever else you may do, and the work of the world is all undone.

I heard a young man not long ago saying to some friends: "Ah! there is no such opportunity before us as there was before those of a few years ago; there is no great struggle, there is no great principle, there is no great truth, there is no great portion of our land to be freed." The young man was mistaken. Yesterday's work compared with that of to-morrow is just as inferior as matter is to mind. Yesterday set free the body; to-morrow must set free the mind and soul, and you must do it. You people of the North and you people of the South must do it because it is your work; working together, working against all obstacles, those of you that believe, believe strongly enough to make a conflict of the great work which lies before you. [Addressing Dr. Haygood.] We mean, Doctor, to fight you, to fight you till there is not a man south of the old line that cannot read—read his ballot anyhow. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.] We mean to fight you, not with the sword, but with gold and silver, and with our prayers. We mean to fight you with our hearty grip of the hand until we are one, not as a matter of mere agreement, but as that greatest of struggles that God has appointed to our land to make, and in which to achieve victory. [Applause.]

Address by Rev. Dr. Haygood.

[Dr. Haygood was received with the Chautauqua salute, and coming forward took two of the toy flags from the stand and held them in his hand, which act was greeted with rounds of applause.]

I am glad that Georgia is on that flag. [Applause.] I have seen the day that I would have died under the

other; and if you cannot take me into the Union on that basis, count me a heathen and a publican. [Applause.]

There are many differences and yet many resemblances. I saw out there—and I will not look that way now—a woman crowned with the glory of gray hairs. When the first battle-song was sung she quivered with memories, the tears coursed down her cheeks. “Johnny” did not “come marching home” to her. She was strangely like a mother who lives in my town, about the same age, with one boy shot through the head on the Potomac, the other buried from a hospital in Richmond. Both of these women love God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and I know would help one another and love each other. So we are alike as to many things, in our heart-aches and griefs.

I am very much obliged to the professor and these admirable singers for trying to sing a rebel war song. They can’t do it. [Applause.] But if there were a few of Stonewall Jackson’s men here, and it was the year 1862, they could sing it. But we don’t sing it now. I have not tried to sing that song or any other army hymn in a long time, hardly since Appomattox. But nobody who has got the heart of a man in him will ask me to-day to be ashamed that I did sing them once. [Applause.] But we do not sing them now. We have buried them for the most part with that flag we followed for four long years, fighting for what we believed was the right thing. I said there are also differences. O if we could put ourselves in each other’s places!

Sometimes when I read your papers that don’t un-

derstand us, or read our papers that don't understand you, I am reminded of a short speech made by an old Frenchman in Atlanta. We had been organizing home guards, and made him surgeon. One night we had a meeting and called on him for a speech. He said: "Fellow-citizens, I am in one bad fix to make a speech, for last night a storm come and blow down my stable, and some one steal my buggy, and my cow run away. I tell you we must whip this fight. I have been in my own country in two revolutions; in one I was the conquer-er and in the other I was the conquer-ed. There is a great deal of difference in those two leetle lettare."

When the wise men and women of the North have learned the difference between these two letters, "d" and "r," we will not need to explain to each other. There will be so many grounds for patience and toleration and broad manliness that by that time we will forget the war, except in the good things that in the providence of God it brought to this whole country. [Applause.]

I will tell you how I do with my children. I do not know whether I represent a class, for I never asked. I teach them that this flag represents our Union, which is God's gift to us and is worth dying for. Then if they ask me who Robert Lee or Stonewall Jackson was, what we mean in April when we strew flowers over the humble graves of our dead soldiers, I tell them who they were—that they were brave, true men. I do not teach my children to despise their kindred who fought and died. You would hate me if I did. [Applause.]

Hardly anybody is mad now about this matter.

[Laughter.] We have got one old man in Georgia, and you may have one or two in New York, for all I know, who get madder the farther they get from the war. [Laughter.] They remind me of an old countryman in my State who started to market, with a load of apples in a cart, with his wife. They crossed a little ferry, and, coming out, the hind-gate of the cart broke loose and the apples all rolled into the river. The old man was mad, but for a time he said nothing. He sat down to contemplate the scene. His wife went to the house. He did not come, and, after awhile, she said to her boy: "Go down to the ferry, and see what has become of your daddy." He came back without his father. "He won't come." "What is he doing?" "He is sittin' there cussin'." [Great laughter and applause.]

For the most part that sort did not fight much. What are you going to do about them? I will tell you what some papers do. If it happens to be one of our men, your papers take him to be a representative of the South; and if it happens to be some one in the North, some of our papers are foolish enough and mean enough to call him a representative of the North. What are we going to do with these men sitting down there at the ferry cursing twenty years after the fighting? Let them curse on. [Laughter.] But go on and raise more apples. [Long-continued applause and laughter.]

I pity a Southern man whose convictions of honor and sense of historic position are so feebly based that he gets into a rage every time that a Northern man disagrees with him. And I pity a Northern man who must explode every time some Southerner chances

not to agree with him. Our people would be unworthy your respect if they should pretend to change their convictions in a day. But there are changes going on. I might give you some illustrations of the gradual change of opinion, an honest change, where men and women are doing their best. But time forbids. People who always stay at home generally have very fixed ideas, with deep roots, but they are not wide ones.

I am much obliged to Judge Tourgee for the many strong and admirable points made in his speech. I want to tell you that if these States in which I have lived are to be counted in this Union, and are to stay in this Union, you ought to ask of us this: Fidelity to the Constitution and its amendments, to the Declaration of Independence and this flag, and no more. [Applause.]

There is in the Citadel Square at Quebec a beautiful monument that could not have been built by Pagan nations. It is in sight of the fields of Abraham, where brave Englishmen, following the flag of St. George, and brave Frenchmen following the lilies, went down in the blood and storm of battle. The brave leaders died that day, and that monument in the Citadel Square at Quebec has on one side the name of "Montcalm," and on the other the name of "Wolfe."

What would you think of an Englishman and a Frenchman to-day who should meet at the base of that monument, and fall out with each other about the battle on the plains of Abraham? If it would not be right for Englishmen and Frenchmen to have heart-burnings to-day, standing in such a place, how

is it with us twenty years after the battle? Are not heart-burnings as much out of place?

Last night I was at a little station in Ohio waiting for the train. I was reading a good book. I will give you one sentence from it. "It is often said of men when they come to die that they become reconciled to their enemies." The author added: "They ought to do it now." I stand on that basis. [Applause.]

I will not keep you much longer. There are some circumstances brought up to-day that I understand much better than the choir. For instance, that "Marching through Georgia" business. I tell you, the historic truth is in it. Poetry has written history; for you got mighty near all the "gobblers" [applause and laughter] and most of the "sweet potatoes" [applause and laughter], and if ever an army had an easy time marching three hundred miles on fair roads in dry weather you had it. [Laughter.] Georgia had sent out about 130,000 men, but they were elsewhere.

I have got a piece of news to tell you about that "Marching through Georgia" that you don't know. On the road between my house and Atlanta is a little town near the Stone Mountain. Two months after you marched through I went back, not marching much. I was getting along the best I could with some very broken-down mules that had lost their ordinary vivacity. I noticed in that little town not less than a dozen chimneys. You know what war does—it burns houses. That is what it means. War is hell. Pardon the roughness; that is what it is; war is hell. I saw, as I came along to Chautauqua, that the last

one of those chimneys had a house built to it. It had stood for eighteen years or more, but this spring a house had been built to it, and I was glad.

We are raising up boys there that some of these days, should there be occasion for it, which God forbid if it please him, would fight under that flag, as the Highlanders whose ancestors fought under Bruce fight for the flag of St. George. I did not come here for gush, but I am glad in my soul, as I said in the beginning, that Georgia is on that flag. [Applause.] I love this country, I believe in it, that it has a mission to the nations of this world and that it will accomplish more than statesmen understand. But in the prophetic heart of the Church there is a deep feeling somehow that the deliverance of every nation from bondage, the evangelization of the world largely belongs to this people. It could not have been done with a divided union. [Applause.] I say it with reverence in this place, it would have marred the stupendous plans of Divine providence. But now, after all that God has done in setting men free in this country, we can go on, working out by his great help the noblest problem ever given to a civilized nation in this world.

Now, God keep us in the peace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence, and this book which is the *magna charta* of the world's intelligence and the world's freedom. [Prolonged applause.]

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

[Monteagle, Tenn., August 7, 1884.]

NO man in his senses believes that ignorance is good for him. Not a few seem to think that, if not a good thing for some others, it is good for them that others should be ignorant. There are some who sneer at all efforts to "elevate the masses" as both a chimerical and dangerous experiment of certain ill-balanced people, whose arguments and work are finally disposed of by calling them "humanitarians," "visionaries," "enthusiasts." Such talk reminds one of the sentiments that lead the nobles of England and other European countries to oppose, as far as they dare, all efforts to give the rights of free-men to the working people.

Certain it is that no man counting himself as belonging to "the masses" sneers at efforts to lift them up. The sneers come from those who, feeling themselves to be "lifted up," fear that their privileges will be lessened when those below them begin to move. It is easy to understand both the contempt and the fear of the aristocrats when they contemplate the betterment of the condition of the poor and the lowly. Such feelings among the "privileged classes" are not peculiar to our times. Scribes and Pharisees, and Herodians, looked with contempt and wrath upon the efforts of the Man of Nazareth to instruct the igno-

rant and help the helpless of his time. To them, "preserving their game" and nursing their respectabilities, he was an agitator and innovator. In every age and nation those who would elevate the masses have been sneered at and opposed by those who believed they were more secure in their privileges while the masses were kept down. But those who are called "the masses" are the majority of the human race; their cause is the cause of God; and they will be lifted up by Him who "draws all men unto himself."

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

In the providence of God it is given to the people of the United States to make such an experiment in government as was never before made by any people. Never was an experiment in government made upon a scale so vast; never were there so great opportunities given to any people; never was the whole world's weal so involved in full success. As Abraham Lincoln put it, "This is a Government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

In the theory of our Government the people are their own rulers; the ballot is their scepter. Wise or unwise, our doctrine of the ballot is the doctrine of universal suffrage. Every voter is a ruler and every man is a voter.

Good government implies intelligence, and universal suffrage demands universal education. This will pass as a mere truism, unless it be contended that ignorance is no disqualification for wise suffrage, or unless it be assumed that the ignorant will always vote with the wise and good, or unless it be pleaded that it is best for the country to keep "the balance of power" in ignorance that it may be the more easily

managed by "the bosses" of politics. He who would undertake to set up either proposition has need of courage; he would hardly be counted wise. For it is too plain to need argument that the illiterate are not capable of wise voting; that they are more apt to vote with the shrewd and unscrupulous than with the wise and good; and that their manageableness by party "bosses" constitutes the greatest evil that is in illiterate suffrage. The ignorant vote is a corrupt and dangerous vote, and, as a rule, the more intelligent people are the less manageable they are by bad men who would use them to promote their selfish designs. Whether we think of what is good for the people themselves, or of the safety and efficiency of our institutions, the reasons for universal elementary education are invincible.

KNOWLEDGE AND VIRTUE BOTH NECESSARY.

In answer to all these arguments that lie upon the very surface of the subject, and that commend themselves to the common sense of thinking people, we are told among other such things: "Education alone will not make good citizens; book-learning alone is not sufficient; we want morals as well as knowledge."

We are told that the men who break banks and rob the Government are educated men; it is added that their education enabled them to accomplish their villainies. We are told that the brutal criminals who outrage women and murder the defenseless are not ignorant of the wrongs they do.

IS KNOWLEDGE ITSELF EVIL?

Such statements are made as offsets to the arguments for universal education. Yet those who say such things continue to educate their own children to

the best of their ability. Such reasonings have led me to inquire: Do these people believe that for other people's children education is *per se* favorable to vice? that, for other people's children, ignorance is *per se* favorable to virtue? Confessedly, bad education is bad. But is mental training, is book-learning *per se* dangerous? Has knowledge, in its very nature, some subtle poison? If so, the right thing to do is to put a stop to the whole business of education, to banish the whole race of teachers, and to burn to ashes their entire apparatus of school-houses, books, and laboratories.

It is just to say of those who offer such arguments against universal education that none of them fear it for themselves or for their own children. The whole force of their doctrine is applied to others—especially to “the masses.”

But such arguments are not worthy to be made by candid people. Who has ever claimed that book-learning alone will secure good citizens?

KNOWLEDGE FAVORS VIRTUE.

This much is claimed with confidence by the advocates of universal education: book-learning helps to secure good citizens, and education is itself favorable to virtue. If not, books are an invention of the devil, and teachers are his priests. The wild Arabs who put the torch to vast libraries because they thought all truth was in the Koran were of this opinion, and practiced what they preached.

Still more is claimed by the friends of universal education: good morals alone are not sufficient to secure good citizens. It is not enough that a man be virtuous; to be a good citizen he must know the duties and

responsibilities of citizenship. Conscience cannot see in the dark; it sees truth in the light that it has. An ignorant good man may do many wrong things; a good man who votes in ignorance may be a very dangerous citizen.

No theory of universal education entertained by rational people proposes knowledge as a substitute for virtue, or virtue as a substitute for knowledge. Both are necessary: without virtue knowledge is unreliable and dangerous; without knowledge virtue is blind and impotent.

TEACHERS NOT BAD PEOPLE.

As a matter of fact very few schools confine themselves to book-learning; when they are silent as to religious opinions they do, as a rule, teach the natural virtues. No doubt there are some very bad schools and some very wicked teachers. But the great majority of teachers in this country—General Eaton, Commissioner, reports their number at 293,294—are not only in the general sense good people; they are Christian people. They are among the best people in this country. As a rule they are the friends of good morals, and they both teach and practice the virtues. Moreover, if parents felt the interest in the education of their children that becomes them; if they would give the attention to the schools that they give to their money-getting, no corrupt teachers would be in charge of schools by public appointment.

THE SCHOOLS DO NOT MONOPOLIZE EDUCATION.

Many well-meaning people declaim against the public schools as if the entire education of the country were left to them; as if, should public school teachers confine themselves to book-learning, no morals, no

religion can be taught—as if these schools usurped and monopolized every possible educational function. It would be as reasonable to say that if the carpenters confine themselves to wood-work, we shall have no blacksmith-shops.

Where is the Church, its army of preachers and its manifold agencies; the Sunday-school, its million of teachers; the Christian press; the countless books and papers consecrated to the work of moral reform, of religious instruction, of spiritual nurture? Above all—pulpit, Sunday-school, Christian press and all—where are the millions of Christian families? For the most part religious instruction must be given in the family; and were every school in the country in saintly hands, the school could not do the work of the family. For the work that should be done and that can be done in the family there can be found, in the very nature of things, no substitute, whether offered by the Church or State.

IGNORANCE AND CRIME.

The statistics of ignorance in relation to crime are not at this time offered as an argument in favor of universal elementary education. That argument has been made a thousand times. No manipulation of statistical tables can, in the least, with those who are informed, break the force of the conclusion. Statistics may sometimes show a bad system of education; no statistics can produce an argument against education itself. Nothing is more certain than that the criminal class is re-enforced, for the most part, from the illiterate class. It is an argument made by facts; they are furnished almost every day in every considerable community. Any police court will set-

tle this question any day that it is called to the witness-box.

GOVERNMENT AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

I plead for public schools for elementary instruction, supported or aided by the Government, as the only adequate instrumentality for securing what the people need for their own good, what the Government must have for its safety and efficiency—universal education. I believe in the taxation of the whole people for the elementary education of the whole people, for the reason that in no other way can the whole people be educated.

It is late in the day to make an argument on this subject; the majority of the American people have pronounced in favor of the public school system. Few questions have been more debated: about few questions have there been more divergent opinions; few questions have been more definitely settled.

Many wise and good people have maintained, and do maintain, that the Government, in the nature of things, has nothing to do with education—that the State has no educational function whatever.

At one time this was my own opinion, and I maintained it as best I could, saying, no doubt, some very absurd things. On this subject, as on some others, what I once believed and maintained is inconsistent with what I now believe and maintain. The consistency of opinion that is changeless, where it is not rooted in infallibility, is death.

Opinions should be in harmony with facts. We are not to argue about what is true in the nature of things alone; we may easily be mistaken about the nature of things. We are to consider also what is

true as matters of fact; facts we may know if we seek to know them. Whatever may be our *a priori* doctrines of government, as a matter of fact education in the elements of learning is in this country a function of the Government. The people, whose right it was, have made education a function of the Government by saying that it is

THE BED-ROCK OF OUR INSTITUTIONS.

All government, worthy to be obeyed, receives its form and derives its powers from the consent of the people. This principle is the bed-rock upon which American institutions are builded. "God ordains the power"—authority, government; in State, as in Church, the form is left to the determinations of the governed. In a republic the will of the majority governs; what the majority affirm to be a function of the Government is a function of the Government. If the minority cannot agree with the majority, and cannot change its opinion, there remains one of three things—submission, emigration, or revolution.

I repeat, as the case is in this country, we are now to deal with a matter of fact; the people have decided for public schools, for elementary education, supported or aided by the State. Every State in the Union recognizes the principle, and makes some provision for rendering it operative.

AT THIS POINT TWO QUESTIONS

suggest themselves: 1. Is it practicable to overthrow the common school system of this country? 2. Is it desirable to overthrow it?

People will answer according to their stand-point of view or their information on the subject. As to the first it seems to me that the common school has

come to stay; it is now an American institution. Not many subjects have been more discussed by the people; on few have they spoken with so great unanimity.

Imagine either of the great parties, this presidential year, going before the people with a platform proposing the abolition of the public school system in this country. The experiment would be interesting and instructive. There are not a few "Independents" nowadays; let some man run for an important office with this for his battle-cry: "Down with the common schools!" Not even so great a force as the "cohesive power of the public plunder" could for a day hold a party together that proposed to overthrow the public schools of the country. Any position on the tariff would be safer for either of the great parties.

The common school system cannot be overthrown, but the good that is possible to it may be sadly hindered and its good turned to evil by captious, because hopeless, opposition.

As to the second question, others arise: Is it wise to make no provision for the education and uplifting of the masses? What is proposed as a substitute for public schools by those who oppose them and seek to abolish them?

Those who most need education cannot or will not provide it for themselves. Is it best to leave them so? Yes; if the ignorant make as good citizens as the educated; if ignorance is in itself favorable to virtue; if learning is in itself favorable to vice; if it is good for the country to leave the illiterate vote, which holds the balance of power, forever subject to corruption and fraud.

WHAT PEOPLE NEED, NOT WHAT THEY WISH.

It is said of many who sorely need education: "They do not want it." This may be so; but it is not proposed to provide them with the means of education because they wish it, but because they need it, and because their partners in the Government—their fellow-citizens—cannot afford for them to remain in ignorance. Many things law requires that some people do not wish; whatever endangers the peace or health of the community must be abated, even if the Government has to come between parents and children, whether it be some nuisance that corrupts the air or some ignorance that corrupts society. The State does not ask leave of a citizen to vaccinate his children to prevent the spread of small-pox, or to disinfect his premises if they threaten to propagate cholera germs; nor does it question its right to provide for the expense of securing the common safety by common taxation.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

Some will say the analogy in these illustrations involves the doctrine of compulsory education. I believe that it does. I believe that compulsory education is the logical conclusion of the argument that establishes a common school system supported by the Government. I believe in the doctrine of compulsory education. There should be appropriate pains and penalties for neglecting or refusing the means of elementary education provided by the State. At the very least there should be a reasonable educational test as determining the right to vote. The State should enact that after a given time—say ten years from the passage of the law—no man shall vote who cannot read and write.

And this not to punish the ignorant, but to protect him and his neighbors against his ignorance. Children are not vaccinated to hurt them, but to prevent the spreading of the plague.

TAXED FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

The objection that many who need do not desire education, as an argument against common schools, is of equal force with another objection most frequently advanced, and in its sound of words most plausible. The objector says: "The State has no right to tax me to educate my neighbors' children." With not a few this is conclusive. But there is nothing in it. It may be asked in reply: What right has the State to tax A to place B's sons in the penitentiary? If B has no interest in the education of A's children, A has no interest in the punishment of B's. I remember to have read in a paper an objection to the public schools in a certain city. A rich man said: "My school-tax is a thousand dollars a year; I have only two children to educate, and I do not send them to the public schools." He felt that he was robbed by the city for the benefit of his neighbors. He seemed to forget that he paid taxes more than his neighbors for many things that he did not want or use for himself. He paid large tax for the poor—to feed them when hungry, to warm them when cold, to heal them when sick. He paid large tax for the police not needed to keep him in order, for streets upon which he did not drive, for sidewalks upon which he never placed his foot, for hospitals in which he never sought treatment or nursing, for prisons in which he was never confined, for a potter's field in which he did not expect to be buried. There was no force in

his objection to paying the school-tax that did not apply to every other form in which it is necessary to expend the public money. In all these things he, with his fellow-citizens, was taxed for the common good.

The education of the people is not only a measure of public economy, but also a measure of public safety. Public schools maintained in whole or in part by taxation are the only adequate instrumentalities for securing it; as in all other uses of public money, so in taxation for the common schools—those who have the most should pay the most. Not only because they can, but also because they ought. If there be a difference, the rich should pay a higher rate; for they can not only pay a higher rate with less inconvenience than the poor can pay a lower rate, but they receive most from the protection that government secures to property.

WHAT SUBSTITUTE IS PROPOSED

by the objectors for public schools maintained at public expense? Some say: "Leave education, like other business, to private enterprise." But education is not like other business; the experiment has been a long time tried, and it has failed so far as the education of the masses is concerned.

There are many who will not, there are many more who cannot provide for the education of their children. It is peculiarly and sadly true in what are known as the Southern States of the Union. It is true of many thousands of white people, the fate of whose children, so far as education is concerned, is wrapped up in the fortunes of the public school system; it is true of nearly all of the black people upon whom have been

thrust the responsibilities and burdens of citizenship before they were prepared for them. And all these people—the poor whites and the poorer blacks—are citizens, and the men of both races are voters at all elections, whether for local magistrates or for President of the United States.

On this subject the facts as given in the tables of the last census are simply appalling. As shown by this census the total number of men of voting age in the Southern States was 4,154,125; of these 1,354,974 could neither read nor write; of the white voters thirty per cent. were reckoned among the illiterates; of the colored, seventy per cent. And this rate increases; from 1870 to 1880 the increase of the illiterate vote was 187,671. It may be safely affirmed that no President is likely, in any hotly-contested election, to receive as large a popular majority as will be the vote cast next November by men who cannot sign their names or read a letter in the book.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS, AND SEVEN MILLION NEGROES.

I do not at this time discuss the extreme necessity for an efficient public school system in the Southern States that grows out of the relation sustained to society and government by nearly seven millions of emancipated and enfranchised Negroes. It was my privilege and honor to speak on that subject from this platform a year ago. At this time it may be allowed me to say: A year's continued observation and consideration of the matter only intensifies my conviction of the truth and importance of all that was then advanced.

THE OPPOSITION OF SOME CHURCH PEOPLE.

Not a few very worthy Church people have vehe-

mently antagonized the American system for the unsectarian education of the masses of the people. This antagonism has brought about some singular agreements, if not alliances—for once uniting some Protestants and all Romanists.

The position of those worthy people compels some painful reflections. The sincerity of their objection to the public schools cannot be questioned. Since they do not offer any substitute for them, I reluctantly ask: Do such objectors really desire the education of the masses? Let them make their own answer. Answer they should, or else cease their very hurtful antagonism to the only system that so much as proposes universal education. The Church does not attempt to provide for universal education; the Protestant Churches do not even think of attempting such a work. In simple truth, it ought to be said that the Romanists far outstrip the Protestants in the matter of the elementary education of the masses. Rome is the more consistent; she opposes the public school system of America, and carries on a very large parish school work. We oppose, but offer no substitute.

I do not think that the Church is to be condemned for not attempting a scheme of universal education. The Church has not the means for so great a work, even if denominational rivalries were satisfied. The State alone is strong enough to do such a work. Since they propose no substitute whatever for the public school system of the country, the position of certain Churchmen as to the public school system amounts to this: It is better for the masses to remain in ignorance than to be educated by the schools of the State. Let those swallow this who can.

AN INCONSISTENCY.

Most singular of all inconsistencies, some who oppose the common schools in the interests of morality and religion not only do not oppose, but co-operate with the State system of college and university education. Here, if anywhere, their objections hold good; here I believe they do hold good. The chief danger to faith comes of Christless education in the colleges and universities. The much-talked-of skepticism of Germany did not originate in the grammar schools, but in the gymnasia and universities. The danger of breeding infidels does not lurk in the elementary schools teaching the alphabet, spelling, reading, writing, and the multiplication table, but in the higher schools in which are taught history, science, ethics, and metaphysics.

STATE COLLEGES UN-AMERICAN.

In this address I contend for universal elementary education, maintained or aided by the State. The arguments that sustain the principle of elementary education at public expense do not apply to the luxuries of education. The support of colleges and universities by taxation is foreign to the principles which underlie the common school system. College education at public expense is un-American; it is at home in monarchical countries; it does not belong to us.

Higher education is not a legitimate function of the Government. College training is not necessary to qualify the people to be good citizens; the arguments that demand the public school for the elementary education of the whole people forbid the education of a few in college or university at public expense. All are concerned in the work of the public school and

its issues; very few are concerned in the work of the college. In any country the constituency of the college is a very small one when compared with the masses of the people.

I have in mind a State college that registered last year two hundred and four students in a State whose population is well on toward two millions. Yet the whole people—rich and poor, white and black—were taxed to give free college education to these two hundred and four youths—most of them the sons of rich or well-to-do people.

Tuition is the least part of the expense of college education. It would be more righteous to tax the people to pay for the board and clothing of these students; for then the poor, as well as the rich, would have a chance at the benefits of college or university education provided for by the taxation of the whole people.

STATE COLLEGES NOT NECESSARY.

Higher education there must be, else there will presently be an end to all efficient elementary education: if it could not be provided except through colleges and universities supported by the State, then the argument for taxing everybody to give free tuition to the children of a few comfortable citizens would be stronger. But higher education does not depend upon State colleges and universities.

What are the facts in the case? First, the colleges and universities that are not in any way related to the State educate vastly more students than the State institutions. To say the least, they do as good work as the State schools. The facts require a stronger statement: With only two or three exceptions in the United

States, the State colleges do not rank with institutions not connected with the State. To mention only three of the older and one of the new, where many might be mentioned, how many State institutions rank with Yale or Princeton or Harvard or Johns Hopkins, either as to the number of students or the quality of the work?

FAIR PLAY.

Some say, with great apparent force of statement: "But we object to being compelled to send our children to Church schools." The answer is easy, and it is complete: Gentlemen, so unrighteous, so un-American a thing is not asked at your hands; nor are you shut up to this necessity. Many of the very foremost colleges and universities of this country are neither State nor Church institutions. If you like none of them, you have an ample remedy; it is so obvious that it is surprising that you never thought of it yourselves. I will suggest it to you with confidence that no objection will be urged against it. It is this: Do what the Church people do who do not wish to send their sons to the State college—put your hands in your pockets and build you colleges and universities to your liking. You are well able to build them, and there are none to hinder. Your self-respect and a sense of fair dealing should urge you to this course. But if you decline the suggestion, don't say to the Church people: "I dislike the college you have paid for, and I will tax you to build one for me. I don't want my child educated at a Church school; and I will, while forbidding help to you, tax you to give free tuition to my child in a State college I first taxed you to build."

INEFFICIENT BUT USEFUL.

It is objected to the public schools in most of the Southern States that they are inefficient. This is true. It is objected also that while themselves inefficient they have broken up or seriously crippled many useful private schools. This also is true.

But another thing is also true: Notwithstanding their admitted defects, more children of both races are learning the elements of education in the Southern States than ever before in their history.

The rational and patriotic thing to do is not to denounce the only system that offers any hope of education to the masses, but to make it efficient. The public schools can be made thoroughly efficient.

BEATING A STARVED HORSE.

Their work is wonderful, considering their chance. They have been starved, in the name of economy, for the benefit of the poor. Small-brained men in the Legislatures—free enough with the people's money for other things—have stinted the appropriations to the public schools; and then, as a mean man beats his half-starved horse for not doing good work, these solons denounce the public schools that they starve for not being efficient! The legislation that starves public schools is discreditable to those who are responsible for it. The Southern States can and ought to put more money in the public schools to insure both longer terms and better teaching.

NATIONAL HELP.

The subject cannot now be discussed, but I express the opinion that the exigences of the case in the Southern States require, and that the peculiar conditions of our educational problem demand, more than

the States can now furnish. By every consideration of sound public policy and by every principle of justice the nation ought to help these Southern States manage a burden that the nation itself largely created.

MORE NEEDED THAN MONEY.

But, sorely as it is needed, more money is not the only need of our common schools in the South. Above all, they need that the people should take more intelligent interest in them. Parents should keep themselves thoroughly informed about them; the people in communities that make their opinions should visit the schools and study their workings. Patrons should take an active and controlling interest in securing competent school superintendents in the counties, competent managers in the community, competent teachers in the school. If parents manifested the interest in the public schools that their relation to them makes their natural duty, difficulties would vanish, needful appropriations would be made; there would be efficient management and faithful and competent instruction.

But, after all, the public schools in the South are doing a world of good, considering their difficulties. They have done their work under almost paralyzing embarrassments; they have had to fight hard for even half-rations, while those who have had no substitute to offer have, without pity for the poor, opposed them at every step.

Finally, whatever theories we may entertain about the functions of State and Church, let us understand quite distinctly this one thing: that ignorance is a source of weakness to both Church and State. And

this, moreover: neither the Church nor the State can afford for the masses of the people to remain in ignorance. To be willing for them to remain in ignorance—to say nothing of the sin and meanness of such as seem to prefer this sort of bondage for the poor—is both unpatriotic and unchristian.



HAND AS WELL AS HEAD AND HEART TRAINING.

Dedication of the "Elizabeth L. Rust Industrial Home."

[Holly Springs, Miss., March 10, 1885.]

A WRITER of note, who is himself a man of African descent, says: "Editors and writers throughout the world should spell the word 'Negro' with a capital N." The reason is that the word is the name of a race of men, just as the words "Caucasian," "Indian," "Mongolian" are the names of races of men. It is no compliment to those in whose interest this institution is conducted to speak of them as "colored people." It is at best an equivocal phrase. But right-minded people will not spell the name with "two g's," as they will not pronounce the word "Indian" "*Injun*." There was somewhat of prophecy in the remark attributed to that unique and typical American whom you all revere, and whom we are all coming to respect—Abraham Lincoln: "No man will ever again be elected President of the United States who spells the word 'Negro' with *two g's*." Mr. Lincoln meant that what the law had given public opinion would soon come to recognize—the Negro's citizenship. And this prophecy is coming to pass.

PROGRESS WITHOUT PARALLEL.

The progress of the Negro race in the United States

during the last twenty (I might have said, during the last two hundred and fifty) years is one of the marvels of history. If we take the longer period, it is a history of progress from abject savagery; if we take the shorter, it is a history of progress from slavery—whose end is an occasion of gratitude to all who understand the subject—to citizenship in the best government in the world.

No people ever had such an experience of great and sudden transitions. As one has expressed it: "Slaves yesterday, freemen to-day, voters to-morrow." And they have done better than most men who thought they understood the subject expected of them. The experiment—experiment it was, for there were no precedents—could not, without fatal issues to civil institutions and to the Negro race itself, have been made in any other country. As I have been told by those who invited me here to say what I think, allow me to add: This experiment could not have been made in any other part of the Union so safely as in the Southern States. The experiment could not have been made in this country without ruin had this not been a Christian country. It could not have been made in the South but for the prevalence of the Christian religion among the white people; it could not have been made at all had not hundreds of thousands of Negroes been converted to God before the proclamation of emancipation. If the Southern Church has done comparatively little in the education of this race since the war, remember it did all that was done before. But for the work of the Southern Church before, Northern benevolence could have accomplished but little since the war. It was the Christian religion in

both races that sustained the country under the strain and test of the experiment. The Constitution and the Declaration of Independence alone were inadequate to so great a trial. And it is the Christian religion that will finally solve this and every hard problem that confronts our times. It is only the despair of unbelief that questions the possibility of solution.

The most notable thing in the history of the progress of the Negro race in the United States is his progress in *education*—using the word in its broadest sense. Take one fact alone: nearly one million Negro youth are now in the public schools of the country. Take another fact: the tenth census shows a decreased percentage of illiteracy, comparing 1870 and 1880. The spelling-book is gaining ground, and herein is the prophecy and earnest of ultimate victory. If we compare the progress of any other four or five millions of illiterate people in any twenty years of the world's history with the progress of the Negroes in this country between 1865 and 1885, we will find that never before did so many illiterate people learn so many useful things so fast. During these twenty years the Negro's eagerness to learn and his success in learning has finally settled in the minds of candid people, who take the trouble to square their theories by facts, the long-debated question as to his capacity to learn. And while some have made a bad use of education, so many have used it well as to convince reasonable people who have informed themselves that it is not only possible to teach the Negro, but very desirable to teach him whatever useful knowledge he can learn.

THE NEGRO OUGHT TO HAVE MADE PROGRESS.

It would have been an infinite disgrace to him had he failed. If no ignorant people ever learned so fast, it is also true that no ignorant people ever had so much done for them. To amplify and illustrate this proposition as it deserves would take a volume. I make bold to say a great and emergent duty was never in the world so nobly responded to as was the duty of educating the emancipated Negroes. Patriotism and religion joined hands to do a work great and difficult enough to appall the stoutest heart and to paralyze any vital force weaker than the strongest faith in God. I do not believe that so much would have been attempted by any other people as the Christian people of this country have for twenty years been trying to do. I should have said a portion of the Christian people of this country; for it is well known that nearly all that has been done by voluntary effort has been done by those (I should say a part, possibly a minority) who were on the victorious side in the late war between the States. That they were on the victorious side explains not only, in large measure, why they were willing, but also how they were able to do it. That in them inclination and ability met together was a providence to the Negro race and to the whole country. (How desperately poor the war left the South history can never put into words.)

FULL FIFTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

I have had much occasion to study the facts of this history of the education of the Negroes in the South since 1865. There is not time to-day for detailed statements. Let it suffice now to say: add together the gifts of Northern (I might say English too) char-

ity and the appropriations to public education for the Negro from Southern taxation and what was expended soon after the war through the Freedmen's Bureau, and we will find that full fifty million dollars have in twenty years been invested in the cause of Negro education. Of this sum the greater part has come through taxation, nearly all of it being paid by Southern white people. If Northern money has built a hundred and fifty-odd colleges and other training-schools for colored youth, Southern money pays for over fifteen thousand common schools for colored children.

WHAT FIGURES CAN'T TELL.

But the money measure is the least of all. The best things cannot be told in figures; faith, sentiment, love, devotion cannot be compressed into statistical tables. Consider how many men and women of as noble mold and of as Christly spirit as ever did God's hard work in the world have for twenty years been putting their very lives into this work. And this they have done gladly out of love for Christ and the souls for whom Christ died. The angel who keeps God's record will write them down with the "noble army of confessors" "of whom the world is not worthy." When "the books are opened" their names will be found on the same page with Carey, Melville Cox, Judson, his great-souled wife (Ann Hasseltine Judson), Livingstone, and the other immortals. Think of it to-day, and thank God for them. On that roll are the names of more than a thousand men and women who, under discouragements never faced in China or Burmah, have been for these twenty years doing all that consecrated manhood and womanhood could do

to teach the emancipated Negroes of the South how to be real men and women—the Lord's freemen.

THE GOOD OF EDUCATION DEPENDS.

This brings us to say that the value of education depends on the education. Education in books is good; but it is very far from being enough. If there be nothing else, it is a great peril. At best it is a doubtful blessing. I am very glad that the princely giver of a million of dollars to the cause of Negro education (the late John F. Slater, of Norwich, Conn.) put it down in his letter to the Board of Trust that he asked to take the charge of his great gift that he designed it "for the Christian education of the lately-emancipated people and of their descendants in the Southern States." For we may be sure that unchristian education would have been fatal to these people, as it is fatal to any people. We may be just as sure that an education simply not Christian will fail to save them or any other people.

My interest and hope in this stupendous effort is in the certain knowledge that the great training-schools for this race are under Christian influence. I have had large opportunity to study these schools, and to study many schools for white people, and I affirm without hesitation that there are no training-schools in this country that are more avowedly, distinctively, and vitally Christian in spirit and method than are the training-schools now preparing the young men and women who are to be the teachers and guides of the Negro youth of our land. And if we think of the men and women who are conducting these schools (for the character of a school is determined by the personal element in its Faculty), it may be affirmed

with confidence there are not, as a rule, more devout, more capable, better trained, more industrious teachers in any schools of the country.

"ELIZABETH L. RUST INDUSTRIAL HOME."

Because I believe Rust University is such a school as I have described I am glad I am here to-day; and because I believe that the instrumentalities to be employed and the methods to be used in the "Elizabeth L. Rust Industrial Home" will add immensely to the power of the university to accomplish its mission I count it an honor and a privilege to take part in the special exercises of this occasion. I believe in industrial training in Rust University because I believe in it everywhere else. I believe in it so much that I have been using every effort to inaugurate a "School of Tool Craft" in Emory College, with which I was long connected as President, and am still lending what aid I can to my honored successor, Rev. Dr. I. S. Hopkins, who is now engaged in the task of actually beginning the work of hand education along with other educations.

True education will move along three great lines—books, morals, industry. To state it otherwise: There must be head training, heart training, and hand training. Each helps the other, and neither is complete without the other. There was deep wisdom in the old Jewish rule that every man must teach his son not only the law and the Scriptures, but also a trade. Thus it came to pass that St. Paul, besides what he could learn in the schools of Tarsus and in the school of Gamaliel, was bred a tent-maker. It is a German custom, and it goes far to explain the capacity of the German to get on in the world and to increase his

goods. The Crown Prince, it is said, was taught the trade of a lock-smith. My own father brought me up to farm work. I can yet plow a straight furrow. How often I have blessed him for that kindness! How often I have thanked "Uncle Jim," who was my wise and patient and loving teacher.

ASHAMED OF HAND WORK.

It is a matter of surprise that in a republic like ours so many otherwise sensible people should despise labor. Everybody knows that the average white girl prefers the attentions of a well-dressed youth (doing woman's work) who sells ribbons for twenty-five dollars a month to those of a carpenter, not so well dressed, who can easily earn fifty to seventy-five dollars a month. And the average white boy would prefer to be the ribbon-seller—it is more stylish. It seems to be a question of clothes; it is, I suspect, at bottom a recoil from what is esteemed the humiliation of hand labor. The average Negro girl follows the example of her Caucasian sister, and smiles on the stylish "dude" who lives precariously by his wits, and passes by the sturdy fellow who makes a good living with his hands. That the non-working men, after they have become husbands, have to be supported by their wives (reduced to a slavery for which the law offers no remedy) does not seem to have impressed the average female mind with sufficient force.

There is a sort of education that is to be kept far from our schools; it spoils people utterly. A girl at the piano or giggling at the gate with an idle boy and the mother at the wash-tub or the cook-stove are sorry sights. If colleges only make old fathers work the

harder to keep vain and lazy sons in good clothes, then colleges are curses to the country. Education that makes young men vain and selfish is as bad as education that makes them lazy. When it makes them both vain and lazy it ruins them. When you see a college student turning up the nose at honest labor in plain clothes you may generally conclude that the devil has a mortgage on the owner of the nose.

HAND TRAINING COMING.

I count it one of the most hopeful signs of the times that in all parts of the civilized world, even in semi-civilized Russia, thoughtful people who have knowledge of the subject are beginning to see that it is a necessary part of education. It is necessary, not simply that young people may know how to do any given thing—as carpentering, blacksmithing, sewing, cooking—but that they may know the value of work, catch the spirit of work, and form the habit of work. Hand training quickens mental faculties that no sort of mere text-book drill awakens. Also—and this is one of its chief blessings—hand education helps to keep the brains balanced.

If I had my way, and could command the means to make the end possible in our schools, there should be no diplomas that did not certify to ability to do some work properly, as well as to read some Greek passably—ability to earn by hand work of some sort a living as well as to solve some sort of problem with difficulty. There are some old foggy teachers who will have no work-teaching in their schools. Some ridicule such teaching, affirming in their ignorance that work-teaching and book-teaching cannot go on together, whereas they do go on together. There are

some conductors of schools for Negro youth who go to the length of this absurdity. They do not seem to understand that the greater the educational needs of any people the greater their need of not only being taught books, but of being taught to make a living, and, if they are to rise in the scale permanently, to make more than a living. Very wisely has the board of trustees of the "John F. Slater Fund" resolved to "prefer" those schools that couple "industrial training" with head and heart training. Fortunately, there are enough good schools ready and eager to work on these lines to more than use all the money the Slater Fund can bestow, and twice as much more.

ONE WHO MAY BE AN APOSTLE.

Last year there was a young man at Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., not yet twenty, who held his own in his text-books, and had learned carpentry so well that he could not only use with skill the ordinary tools of his trade, but he could "lay off work," plan a cottage, "make out a bill of lumber," and calculate the expense of building. More, he actually built several cottages, and did his work well. If he holds on in his course, he will be a sort of an apostle among his people—and a very useful apostle too. It is not desirable that all young men educated in Church schools should be preachers and teachers. There must be somebody to support the preachers and teachers.

There are many other useful trades that young men are learning at the best schools for Negro youth in the South. Some of them may be mentioned: Blacksmithing, shoe-making, brick-making, tin-work, type-setting, and other sorts of work that people are willing to pay well for, especially if it can be properly

done. I say properly done, for he is a rare carpenter among us who can hang a door so that it will fit, who can saw a plank so that it will make a joint.

MASTERY OF HAND TOOLS.

At this time one of the essential things in the industrial departments in our schools for both races is to teach the best use of the common tools of the various trades. The population of the Southern States is for the most part in the rural districts and in little villages. For a long time hand work, and not machine work, will prevail among us. The carpenter who is master of the square, the hammer, the saw, the plane, the auger, the chisel, the drawing-knife, the adz, the file, and such like implements for wood-work, is better fitted to do well than the man who is master of a planing-machine or other costly contrivance.

The same principle holds in industrial training for women. In some places laundry work is done by machines with "all the modern improvements." Few are the women of the South who will ever have opportunity out of school to use such machinery. The woman who knows the full power of hot and cold water, the resources of the wash-tub, the rubbing-board, the sad-iron, and the qualities of soaps and starch is better fitted for the laundry work that will fall to her lot and bring her good wages than she who knows how to "run a machine." So in all the departments.

What we all need is to know thoroughly how to use the tools we have. Last week, at my home, a carpenter fashioned, with a drawing-knife, a wood-file, and a piece of sand-paper, a missing baluster that could not, when in its place, be told from those that had been turned in the shop, except that the finish was finer.

If he had only learned to use a machine, he could not have done the work. He had no machine.

FROM THE CABIN TO THE COTTAGE.

When the great training-schools for Negro youth have got their industrial departments well in hand, then that will begin to be possible for the Negro race in the South which hitherto has not been possible, but which is absolutely necessary if real, substantial progress in civilization is to be generally and permanently effected—they can have homes instead of miserable cabins. The right thing is not to despise the cabin, but to get ready to build and furnish the cottage. If the cottage is not only to be built, but to be furnished and made a home of, then both men and women must have industrial training as well as book-learning. Book-learning alone will make the people whose good we seek to-day unhappy in the cabin; it will not of itself give them the ability to get into cottages, or to make homes of them when they get them. A house-keeper and home-maker who cannot read is a nobler woman than she who can read many languages, but does not know how to do any thing rightly, and so makes a wreck of home.

As a rule, people who know only books will never have the means to procure better homes than are possible in mere cabins. Indeed, they are less able than the illiterate, for mere book-knowledge fosters extravagance without providing the means for its indulgence. Sad is his case whose tastes demand expenditures his skill cannot provide! Bitter is the fruit of the tree of knowledge when there lack the harvests that follow industry! God's law of labor is a great and saving mercy to the race.

All that book-learning has done for some Negro families and for many white families is to make it harder to live. And herein is much of the discontent of the working world, whose murmurings hint of suppressed earthquakes. The kind of education these unhappy people have received has bred demand faster than it has created supply to meet it. Education that does not increase productive power is a failure. Such education as I have been speaking of not only makes people unhappy; it tends to make them dishonest. It tends also to break down virtue.

ALL IN ONE ROOM.

I am of the opinion that in the history of civilization, as human habitations indicate its progress, the next thing after the hollow tree, the cave, and the wigwam is, in the rural districts, the single-room log cabin; in the village, the single-room board shanty; in the city, the single-room in the crowded tenement—all of a sort, varied only by the environment. When necessity shuts a family up in one little room patience is a great duty and a rare virtue, but you may be sure—seeming exceptions to the contrary—there was never yet of any race or color a family that could be brought up just as it ought to be in a single room. Where some, under the disabilities of so narrow limits, have done reasonably well, they would have done better with another room, had it been only “a shed-room.” Some privacy is essential to modesty, to say nothing of the virtues that have their root in this grace.

Once upon a time, as presiding elder in the mountains, I spent a night with a family that lived in one room. There were eleven of us—men, women, boys,

and girls—not counting two lazy hound dogs, that slept in that fearful room. They were people who were of little account. They might have done better. They would have been white had they been washed. Their wretched mode of life had given them the contentment of insensibility. The wonder is that there was any good in them at all. It is a marvel that people who live so are no worse than they are.

A great deal has been said and written about the lack of domestic virtue and family purity among the Negroes of the South. The case is bad enough; but, for my part, I do not believe that it is as bad as it was during slavery. The evidence of mixed bloods (a very evil thing for both races), to say nothing of vices among themselves, that we see everywhere in this country, makes me ashamed for the men of my own race.

But I must say a word in defense of the Negroes, particularly of those living in the Southern States. Considering the antecedents of the race in Africa, in these States before emancipation, and their condition to-day, the real surprise is that there is so much virtue and purity among them. Let us talk less about it, and do more. Above all things, let white people set them better examples. Let us put tools in their hands, with which they can build themselves homes, and take from the sight of the sun the vice-breeding, misery-producing cabins and shanties that conspire with depravity to help them to be wicked. Then they will at least have a better chance to be virtuous.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIANS WILL HELP SOME DAY.

I am very sorry that the women who have the most vital interest in this blessed work (for the degradation

of Negro women is the damnation of Caucasian men) are not at this time taking an active part with the Christian women of the North. Somehow you good women of the North and they do not understand one another. Words of censure will not help either. Bear with their long delay. There are no better women in the world than the Christian women of the South. In the way of this sort of work they have difficulties that you women of the North, longer delivered from the curse of slavery, know not of, and that you can never fully understand. Quit reproaching them; it does no good. "Put yourselves in their places." You will sooner win them by your gracious example than by criticism. Many of them do sympathize with you now, and "in secret before their heavenly Father" beg blessings upon you. Many of them want to help you; but they do not yet see their way. They will help you, if not to-day, then to-morrow; and it will be needed then also. They will help with money, service, sympathy, love; for they are Christian women. But to you, sisters of the North, at this time is committed the sacred ministry of making purer the home life of our Negro families. We will help by and by.

You must remember, good women of the North, that the

NEGROES GOT ALL THE GOOD OF SLAVERY.

We of the white race in the South suffered its evils without its good. They, by God's blessing, got through slavery what never, in the history of the world so many who were lately savages obtained in so short a time—the habit of labor, the English language, some knowledge of the institutions of a Christian re-

public, and, as to thousands of them, the religion of Jesus Christ. In your abhorrence of slavery do not forget how God overruled slavery to the good of millions. We must not despise the ways of Providence in our condemnation of the ways of men. And Northern people should have more patience with those who suffered, and still in many respects suffer, the evils that inhered in slavery.

WELLS IN THE DESERT.

I am deeply concerned in the Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies; one of them recently sent my sister to China. But I am just as deeply concerned in the Woman's Home Missionary Societies. It was a fitting thing that a gift of five dollars, and the faith that prompted it, from the mother of Gilbert Haven was the germ of the Society that has erected the "Elizabeth L. Rust Industrial Home," that is conducting such homes in Atlanta, in Little Rock, in Orangeburg, and that is getting ready to establish one in Savannah.

The temptation must have been strong to have expended their money and their efforts in a different way. The great mass of the people they serve need all things; from every cabin comes up a great and lamentable cry. Why not invade these wretched habitations at once? Why not go down into the dark places, and clean up floors and dust away cobwebs and do many other such sorely-needed things? Because that is not the wise way; because that would be a wasteful way; because that is the way to fail. There are seven millions of these people, and nearly a million of these cabins. To undertake to reform them by direct effort would be like irrigating Sahara

with a watering-pot. Dig wells in the desert and in the rocky places, as Jacob did "in the parcel of ground that he gave to his son Joseph."

SEND OUT SPECIMENS.

Send out one well-trained woman from your "Industrial Home." She will be worth a regiment of lady missionaries and their visitations; she will live among the people who need her; she will be a specimen and an inspiration to them, as a white woman cannot be; she will incarnate what you seek to teach. The sight of her, the knowledge of her will itself be the beginning of home education to these people. She, with God's blessing, will do this work forty years; she will pay her own way and something over to start her sisters on the march to the "promised land" of homes for the Negro race; she will be a wife and mother worthy those holy names. "Her children will rise up and call her blessed;" they will be centers of reforming, upbuilding, saving life, when she and the Christian women who founded this Home have gone to heaven.

KEEP UP THE MEN'S SIDE.

And do you, gentlemen of the Freedmen's Aid Society, "help these women that labor with you in the Lord." Without them you will wear your lives away twisting ropes of sand. We men, it seems to me, should have done with patronizing "woman's work," with complimenting their efforts as we do the slate-drawings of our children. It is stupid of us that we have been nearly two thousand years finding out that woman's work and man's work in the Church are co-ordinate, and that her work is altogether as necessary as his.

Keep the men's industrial department well advanced. Let the carpenter-shop keep pace with the laundry, the blacksmith-shop with the sewing-room, the shoe-shop with the cook-room.

There must be men who can not only vote, but use tools; who can not only talk politics and debate baptism, but earn money. Then there will be homes for the Negro: and Christian civilization has its roots in the home, and nowhere else. You had as well try to raise oak-trees in the gallon pots of a green-house as to Christianize and civilize the Negro, or any other race of men, without homes. The Chinese have learned the trick of raising oak-trees in pots; but they have dwarfed them into contemptible shrubs, unfit for fuel or timber, and that lose the knack of producing acorns for the perpetuation of their race.

THEY MAY BE REDUCED BELOW SLAVERY.

The friends of the Negro race must so plan their work for these needy people that some day they will need help no more. It will be a long time, it may be a hundred years; but the time must come. Plan for it now. If not, the friends of the Negro race will destroy him; they will so pauperize his soul that a return to slavery would be a blessing. There is no deeper ruin than the pauperization of spirit that issues from misplaced benevolence—benevolence that fails to develop power. The virtue and glory of the industrial movement in education is that it fosters capacity for taking care of one's self and of being a veritable man.

It would be as easy to develop a colony into a great State in a country where there are no births as to permanently elevate any race without quickening in its

very blood the germs of self-supporting energy. Immigration alone never built up a State; missionaries alone never redeemed even one heathen tribe.

AFRICA AND AMERICA.

Let us remember this work takes hold on two continents. The Negro in the United States binds America and Africa together. The explorers and the men of commerce are opening up the "Dark Continent." Let it not be said in this day: "The children of the world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Let Christian Negroes in America get ready to carry the light of God to their brethren beyond the sea, who "sit in darkness and the shadow of death." And let Christians of the white race of every name get ready to help them do their work.

In conclusion, if it be any encouragement to my honored sisters who have this home-mission work in hand, let me say: Having gone through your plans for this "Industrial Home" in detail, they seem to me to be eminently practical, very wise, and very good. There are in your plans and methods the seeds of reproductive, self-perpetuating virtue. I congratulate you. I rejoice with these grateful people whose good is your care. I pray God's blessing on you all.

SOME NEEDS OF THE NEGRO.

[Annual Meeting of the Woman's Home Missionary Society
of the M. E. Church, Philadelphia, October 23, 1885.]

IN such a work as yours, and in Foreign Missions, it seems to me that religious people must feel a deep and abiding interest, for these two constitute the greatest work of the Church; for the neglected classes at home and the heathen abroad are the majority of the human race. These, most of all, need what the Church can do for them; and from these, if uncared for, will come the greatest danger to Christian civilization.

GAUGING CIVILIZATION.

Humanity is like the body—if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. If we would make a true estimate of the civilization of our race, we must find the average; the Bushmen of Australia must be considered as well as the Anglo-Saxons. We do not estimate aright the civilization of our own country by considering the state of happy people of wealth, culture, and, it may be, virtue. We must go into hovels as well as palaces; into gin-shops and gambling-hells as well as schools, churches, and great institutions of benevolence; into the hiding-places of the lost as well as into the homes of the good.

THE GREATEST NEED.

I rejoice to know that the Woman's Home Mis-

sionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has in its heart the needs not only of the poorest of our white people, but the needs of the black people of the South.

If we would help those who most need us, there are several things to do other than feeling sorry for them and passing resolutions; besides giving them money—the least of their needs; besides teaching them books—not the greatest of their needs; their greatest need is love—to feel that good people care for them as human beings. Nor can we discharge our duty, as some imagine, by praying for them. He who prays without trying to do something not only prays in vain, but such praying is a sort of profanity.

THE FIRST THING TO DO IS TO KNOW

the needs of those we would help. This knowledge comes not in the best form by hearsay evidence; we know people's needs when we know them. An apostle teaches that it is an essential part of religion to visit the poor and afflicted—not as “inspectors of the poor,” not with condescending patronage, but with Christian love. A true Christian who knows the destitute as he ought will soon find in himself the second condition of helpful service—he will be “moved with compassion on them.” And then he will begin. Presently another will begin; and these two, agreed in this matter, will work together, and this is organization. The organization of such a society as yours is the most natural thing in the world; it was inevitable as soon as a goodly number of you began to try to do good to the destitute.

It may be doubted whether there is any movement

in the Church life of our times more significant, far-reaching or hopeful than the organized activity of Christian women.

OUR WORK IN THE SOUTH.

But I must not forget that it is expected of me that I speak of the conditions of your work in the Southern States. I believe I will amend the statement, and say *our* work in the South; for it is a long time since 1844, and nearly the life-time of a generation since 1861.

As the work of your society in the South is chiefly among the Negroes, I should speak specially of them—their condition, needs, and the methods of doing them good.

THE NEGRO'S RELIGION.

Let me begin with that which is the best thing in him—his religion. A bishop—not Methodist nor Catholic—has said: “The Negro’s religion is a fanaticism.” This witness is not competent; he is sincere, but the Negro’s religion is a subject he does not understand, for that bishop’s Church in the South has had less to do with the Negroes than with anybody else—except possibly the poor whites. As a rule, I have long observed that those who have the hardest things to say of the Negro’s religion have least tried to teach him religion. Those who ridicule his religion have no religion themselves.

It is true that much of their theology is crude, but we have heard theology from titled white preachers that no rational congregation could understand. Their preachers, many of them, rant and storm, and beat the Bible into tatters; but this sort of pulpit eloquence is not confined to Negro preachers. If we

are to believe history, and to credit what old men tell us, their wildest shoutings and rantings do not surpass scenes recorded in the early history of our own people.

CONSCIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE.

Allowing that their religious emotions are out of all proportion to their morals, what remains? Good morals, as the fruit of religion, are relative. Conscience does not act automatically in determining rights and wrongs; conscience instinctively and instantly approves the right and condemns the wrong, but conscience never gets beyond knowledge of rights and wrongs. To have good morals as the fruit of religion there must be instruction in righteousness. To have the highest morals there must be instruction and practice and the discipline of law through generations. The morals of white Christians are far from perfect; we have not yet outgrown all the savagery of our heathen ancestors. It has not been a century since gallons of rum were recognized in the accounts of executors as legitimate expenses at a Christian funeral; since pastors had allowance made, in estimating their support, for their necessary liquors.

If we are to denounce the Negro's religion because with not a few of them the standard of morals is low, what are we to think of educated white believers who, in what they call "business," do sharp tricks that they may secure from neighbors and customers more than common honesty can approve? I think better of a Negro Methodist who robs a corn-crib because he is hungry than of the rich white Methodist who cheats in trade.

THE BEST GROUND OF HOPE.

I repeat that the most characteristic fact and most hopeful quality in Negro life in the South is his religion. He is neither infidel nor atheist. I have dwelt on this point for your encouragement, for it is your best ground of hope in seeking to lift him up. To burlesque his religion, as the Philistine press is accustomed to do, is a cruel injustice to him, and it is a sin against God. Those are most given to this ugly practice who are themselves the farthest removed from all religion.

THE NEGRO AT SCHOOL.

But I must speak of the case of the Negro at school. This chapter in his history during the last twenty years is marvelous. There is nothing like it. Never did a more appalling task confront Christian intelligence than the one the Christian white people of this country looked on in 1865. Never was a great and difficult task more magnificently attempted or more nobly carried out.

If we speak of money, it is believed that not less than fifty millions of dollars have been expended in the effort to teach the enfranchised people of the South. Of this great sum something more than one-half (I am told by those who know) was from taxation by the Southern States—paid by the Southern white people. The rest was from the Government, through the Freedmen's Bureau, and from the noble charity of individuals and of organized societies within the different Churches of the Northern States. Nearly a million of colored children are now at school in the South, and many more than a million of colored people can read—not perfectly, but they can read, and

he who can read has the keys of knowledge. There is hope—bad as the case is; the percentage of illiteracy among them decreases.

BUT THE MOST HOPEFUL SIGN IS THIS:

He begins to show some disposition to help himself. It is not general or very pronounced in most places, but it is real with not a few. This is vital to the whole great experiment, for outside help cannot continue forever, though it must continue for a long time if these people are to be saved. A few illustrative “signs” may be mentioned.

In some places they are by their own efforts keeping the common school open for a longer period than the public money provides for. Only this week a committee of colored men from one of the Georgia counties visited me to seek advice in starting by themselves and for themselves a school of higher grade than the common school—not a college, but what to them will be a high school. November 25 I have promised to speak at the dedication of the Morris-Brown College, in Atlanta, Ga., an institution started by the African Methodist Church. It is officered by colored teachers, and the \$20,000 worth of property which the institution represents at this time is paid for, and most of it was given by their own people. The same Church is pushing a college in South Carolina and another in Texas. At another college, established by another branch of African Methodism, only two weeks ago a young colored woman, trained in an industrial school in Alabama, took charge of the girls’ industrial department. I was at pains to find out that she is competent to do this work.

Many such illustrations might be given—just enough to encourage well to do white people to redouble their efforts.

THEIR HOME LIFE.

I may say a little of their home life. It is poor and meager; and most of them live in one-room log cabins; and, compared with the houses you good women know, they lack all things. But these homes improve in comfort, intelligence, and decency—I believe, in morals also.

It has been said many times that in Negro society sins against chastity by women made no difference in their standing. I do not believe that this was ever absolutely true. But in the past it has been true to a large extent. This is changing slowly but certainly. It begins to make a difference. This should be added: among them a fallen woman who repents has more help in her efforts to reform than white women have. Perhaps you are not prepared to ask that good women among them should bear themselves toward their fallen and penitent sisters as white society does in such a case. I hope they will always give such penitents a chance to be saved.

A KIND OF CONTENTMENT.

If the ladies in this fine church and fine city think their dark sisters in the log cabins are as they imagine that they themselves would be in such circumstances, they will reason badly. The contentment of these people with their meager log cabins you of my audience can never understand. Their contentment is apathetic; it is not the apathy of despair, but of custom.

But their contentment in such homes is not the

thing that should distress us. We should be anxious lest their discontent should come to them before they have acquired capacity for supplying those wants which come into existence with the increase of intelligence. Not a few are already in this case, and it is perilous to them.

A DANGER IN EDUCATION.

If education only excites wants without conferring capacity to supply them, it makes people miserable; sorrow becomes the fruit of such knowledge, and it is a very bitter fruit. Skilled hands must go with educated brains, if we are to preserve the domestic and social balance. I might add the moral balance, for without ability to earn money to meet clamorous wants people are apt to take short cuts and immoral cuts to money.

THE MOST DIFFICULT PART

Is to be touched on now: How may we best teach these people so as to do them a real good? Shall we go directly into the cabins and take these poor households one at a time? It is utterly hopeless. Shall we take the children away from these homes and keep them away until we have put our last finishing touches upon them? There are nearly two million of these people of school age. But may we not take some of the most promising and keep them at school and under the best influences until they are done with schools? Certainly, if we would educate them out of all sympathy with their people, if we will dig a chasm that will never be bridged between them and the people we wish these trained ones to help.

Within the past two weeks a young colored man, having completed the course in one of the New En-

gland colleges of high degree, returned to his home in a Georgia city. In "thirty-six hours" after his return (as he wrote me himself) he had concluded that there was no field "suited to his education and ability," and within the same period, as he informed me, had declined the offer of a teacher's place in a colored public school in that city, and at a salary equal to that paid to some capable white boys who had just left Emory College.

Some of his notions came through his white classmates in ——— College; others from his long absence and alienation from his own people. To make him useful now he must be educated over again—to dry out the sap and to balance his brains.

TRAIN THEM FOR THEIR WORK.

If, ladies, I may venture to suggest, you will do best to train the young women committed to your care not only in books, but in all womanly industries, and do this so that those who live in the vicinity of your schools may be with their families every day, and those from a distance may spend their vacations with them. I know what your teachers say—"The home environment is bad, and undoes what we do at school." There is truth in this; nevertheless, if you would help the masses of these people, your pupils must not be educated out of sympathy with them.

A GREAT TRUTH.

The trust committed to the Church of the Northern States is as grave a one as ever pressed a burden of duty home upon Christian conscience.

I do not forget what I believe Southern Christians ought to do; I believe there is a growing conscience down there as to this duty to God and his poor and

needy ones. But, as the case now stands, this burden and duty—historically, providentially, and financially—are largely yours. You have wrought marvelously well; fail not in faith or zeal or gifts. The real test of you, as I suppose, has not yet come. To cease such a work but half done would be a disaster.

Providence has intrusted you with wealth. It may be that supplying, so far as money may, the needs of these poor Negroes, brought here by our forefathers, will make that wealth a great blessing to you, may save you from the shame and curse of wealth not used for the good of men. It is the right use of money alone that makes wealth respectable in the eyes of the dwellers in the high countries above us.



BUILDING A CHRISTIAN COLLEGE.*

Congratulations.

THE friends of Morris-Brown College deserve congratulations this Thanksgiving-day. It is a happy circumstance that your dedicatory services were set for this day; for it is not only the nation's Thanksgiving for God's mercies, but it is peculiarly Atlanta's day of thanksgiving and rejoicing. There can be but few in this audience who do not thank God for the result of yesterday's election in this city. That this city, after such a contest, votes for prohibition is one of the most notable events of this year. Such a contest has hardly been waged, such a victory hardly won anywhere else.

As a life-long prohibitionist I wish to say here that without the manful help of the colored people in this city this battle could not have been won. This victory is the victory of both races. There is abundant reason for the war waged against the whisky power; drunkenness is the scourge of the country. An intelligent colored man said to me: "Enough has been spent for liquor in Georgia by my people since the war to have bought every colored family in the State a decent home." He said truly.

It is a real pleasure to take part in the services of

*Dedication of Morris-Brown College, Atlanta, Ga., Thanksgiving-day, November 25, 1885. It is under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal (Bethel) Church.

this hour. Any school excites my interest, for schools deal with the young. A Christian school, like Morris-Brown College is to be, excites my hope, for it deals with the young according to the gospel idea of education. But there are facts connected with the founding of Morris-Brown College that lend to this occasion an almost unique interest. It is substantially the work of the colored people themselves. Less than one thousand dollars, I am told, of the whole amount invested so far in your grounds and building was given by white people. This college is essentially a home institution, and it has been paid for by the money of colored people. This fact makes this dedication a notable event to both races.

TO BE A SELF-SUSTAINING RACE.

You have set your white brethren a worthy example in energy and liberality. Measuring gifts for education by ability, I think your work was never surpassed in Georgia; I doubt if it was ever equaled. The generosity of the givers is only equaled by the tireless patience of those to whom this work has been committed. I know what begging for a college means. Gathering more than ten thousand dollars in small sums, in dollars—nay, in dimes and nickels—means more than work and patience. It means headache, heart-ache, sometimes nearly despair.

What underlies the gift of all this money and the collection of it is rarely significant and hopeful. *It means that it is in the colored race in this country to be self-sustaining.* It means that they also can plan and carry out plans, deny themselves and make investments of money and toil for the education of their children.

When a man reaches the point that he is willing to do something, that he feels that he ought to do something for posterity, he is tolerably well advanced in Christian civilization. The man who refused to help a good cause on the ground that he owed nothing to posterity because posterity had done nothing for him was a heathen. There are many heathen among us; not a few in our Churches. This man I speak of was not an honest heathen, for the only way we can pay the debt we owe our ancestors is to make things better for posterity. The man who is willing to get out of the world all he can, and to give nothing to the world—to go through life and out of it, and leave the world no better for his having lived in it—is, to say the least, a very small sort of a man.

Such a work as the colored people have done in starting Morris-Brown College is full of hope and prophecy. Those who have been helping the colored people in the Southern States for the last twenty years have been looking with anxiety for some such bud of promise as this.

It is a sort of maxim in political economy that to give money to the poor, only to be consumed, is to make them poorer. A good deal of money given to colored people since their emancipation has done them more harm than good. Some people—honest people, too—who have not taken pains to think the subject through in the light of indisputable facts, have thought that the money invested in the education of the colored people has been more than wasted. This is a great mistake. Simply to give a poor man money may so pauperize his spirit as to make him not only poor, but mean. But money wisely used in his educa-

tion—that is, in making a stronger, wiser, and better man of him—does not pauperize him; it enriches him.

A colored man who, with his neighbors, was trying to secure a high school for his people, said to me not long ago: “We must do something for ourselves; money from the North can’t come always.” He was right. If Northern money could keep always coming in a steady stream, it would not really benefit the colored people unless they begin to grow in themselves, so that some day outside help will be unnecessary.

REASON FOR HELP.

What you have done, almost by your unaided efforts, does not at all prove that the time has come to quit helping you. It proves just the opposite—that so long as you show this good spirit of self-help you may be helped by other people without harming you. Good people, whose kind hearts impel them to help you, will conclude that they may help you with hope. They will see that they are not pouring water into a sieve, but that they are watering good and fertile soil that will yield ample harvests.

I would that I could tell everybody in the United States of this good deed that you have done. I wish that I could tell all the colored people that what they have done is better for them than if others had done twice as much. For it is a good sort of education itself—this giving money to found a Christian College. If this work gives hope to white people who want to help you, it will do more for colored people; it will inspire confidence in themselves. When this feeling is once firmly fixed in the hearts of your people their real freedom will begin; the jubilee will be near at hand, and not till then.

What you are now doing reminds me of the early history of Emory College—the college I love and honor so much, and that has been by God's favor so great a blessing to our people. It was started in the woods by a few poor itinerant preachers and a few laymen not much better off in this world's goods. You may not know it, but most of the oldest colleges in this country were started by poor and God-fearing men. The most useful colleges, with few exceptions, have had small beginnings. Emory College had a long, hard struggle; but it did good, honest work in the days of its deepest poverty. After all, men are more than money in building and carrying on a Christian college. A faithful, earnest, capable, and God-fearing teacher who loves young people and honors his work can almost work miracles. A teacher who does not honor his work—who works only for the money it brings him—degrades it. One who does not love young people may have much learning, but he can never be a good teacher. One who would use a college like a demagogue, merely to advance his own ambitions, is very dangerous to the institution he would use in a way so selfish and mean. Self-seeking men have been the death of colleges.

WANTING MUCH, EARNING LITTLE.

Since I knew enough on the subject of education to be entitled to an opinion on this subject, I have contended that it cannot be in and of itself an evil to any creature capable of education to any degree. This also I have contended: that in itself book-learning, even the highest and best, is not enough. Book-learning alone may be a curse; it is always dangerous. Many reasons for this opinion might be given. It is a

very broad subject, and cannot be fitly argued in an hour. Some reasons I will give, and beg of my hearers to think them out for themselves.

1. Book-learning, if it be alone, creates wants and stirs ambitions faster than it creates ability to supply them or that balance of character which makes knowledge a safe possession and a real blessing. Nothing is worse in what is called education than creating wants faster than it creates ability to reasonably and honestly gratify them. If going to school only makes a youth want more than he did before, it makes him poorer; if it leads him at all to despise labor, it makes a fool of him. To him the school becomes a curse. If going to school only breeds vanity and yearning for finer clothes than he can honestly pay for, it makes a dishonest fool of him and, as a general rule, ruins him for both worlds. This sort of education makes people very miserable. The real poor are not those who have little, but those who want much.

This is bad enough in all conscience, but such education leads to what is worse—the temptation, often yielded to, to supply by immoral methods the wants bred of vanity. A youth, boy or girl, begins to think of immoral ways of supplying wants just as soon as they outgrow ability to provide for them by honest work done for honest pay. There is no need for me to supply illustrations; you can think of them yourselves.

To make book-learning good for any race there must go with it two other sorts of education: 1. Hand training. 2. Heart training.

This is not a doctrine for colored people, but for all people. Every day I rejoice that Emory College has

a school of toolcraft in which white boys are learning the use of tools in wood and iron work.

If book-learning does not increase one's earning capacity, it is a business failure; if it decreases it, it is an injury as well as a failure; if it both increases wants and decreases capacity to supply them, it is simply ruin—ruin of all sorts.

As sure as we live if there is by education to be any general lifting up of a people, capacity to produce must outrun mere desire to spend. If a college does nothing else, it is bound to teach this: that the world owes no man a living till he has earned it.

THE BIBLE THE CORNER-STONE.

But head training and hand training together are not enough; there must be heart training as well. Heart training is of supreme importance. There must be virtue as well as knowledge and industry. Men must do right as well as know things; they must be good men as well as business men. The education of some people only makes them more dangerous, for it increases capacity to do evil without securing any safeguards to resist and repel temptation to do wrong.

This day I tell you, with all the emphasis I can command: Found this college on the Bible, and run it according to the gospel of the Son of God.

To make good men the Bible is worth all the books in all the languages in the world, and the gospel is the only power known to the history of the human race that really makes good men. Out of the Bible have come to us all the blessings of our Christian civilization. What the Bible teaches is worth to your people, to all people, not only for the next world, but for this world also, more than all the Greek and

Latin authors can teach, more than all the scientists and philosophers can tell. The Bible has taught your people, and all the people in this country and in every Christian country, the best things they know. The Bible is the corner-stone of every institution that is going to stand the test of time and bless the human race.

Hear me this day, men and brethren. Put religion in your college. Not the mere name of religion, but religion itself; not mere orthodox belief, but real, warm, soul-saving religion; not the sort only that makes people happy, but also the sort that makes them good; the sort that makes men and women good and true in all the relations of this life as well as ready for the life to come. Your college, to be what it ought to be, must have true religion in it. A college, as truly as a Church, needs to be religious. I have as much faith in the usefulness of an unchristian Church as of an unchristian college. A Christless college is a curse; it breeds infidels, and infidels are the enemies of man as well as of God.

Keep your college close to your Church, and they will help each other. The Church should be its nursing mother. A Christian college, to stay Christian, must have revivals of religion. I mean this with all my heart. In a true Christian college young people will be brought to Christ. They will be awakened, they will be soundly converted, they will be thoroughly trained to lives of usefulness.

WARNINGS.

Finally, let me point out some of the occasions of failure in a new college.

1. Impatience with the day of small things and overanxiety to grow. Better go slowly and surely than

rapidly and rashly. It is better to teach twenty well than one hundred badly. It is better to be poor twenty or fifty years, and do what you do thoroughly, than to be rich in a year and work for the name and show of things. Don't give way to the ambition to surpass the old established institutions in a day. You can't do it. If you could, it would be no blessing in the long run. A tree that grows twenty feet in a summer is nearly all sap. If you can't go for the long run, it is better not to start.

2. Impatience with small things and ambition to make a show will lead you, before you know it, heels over head into debt. Debt is bad for a man; it is generally death to a college—always the next thing to death.

3. Some colleges fail by not doing their own proper work—by trying to do the work done by some other college in very different circumstances. A wise man does the best he can with the tools and timber he has till he can get more and better.

TO EACH ITS OWN.

I may now say what some of you dislike. But it is better to speak the truth, and displease, than to please by suppressing the truth.

My advice is: Do in this college the sort of work that the people who send to it most need, not what somebody else who does not send to it needs. Let the college shape its plans by the real wants of its people, not by the supposed wants of some other people. It will take good sense and courage to do this, more than the managers of most white colleges have. The temptation will be to try to do just what ought not to be done. If you resist the temptation, you will deserve honor for your good sense and courage. Suppose this

college should try to pattern after Yale, or Harvard, or Princeton. It will fail; and it ought to fail, for it will be trying to do to-day what may be well enough a hundred years from to-day. Yale and Harvard are more than one hundred years old, and their patrons have been sending sons and daughters to college for a hundred years. I have known schools try to teach boys and girls Greek and Latin that failed to teach them English, that failed to teach them how to keep accounts, that failed to teach them how to make a living and to be good people. Such a school needs teaching—common sense and honesty.

It is as necessary for a college to be itself as for a man to be himself. The preacher who tries to preach like somebody else makes himself ridiculous; the college that tries to be some other college, and not itself, is also ridiculous.

This college-building business can't be done in a day, even if you had plenty of money. If one man, by putting his life into it, can build up a Christian college so that it can stand securely upon a broad and strong foundation, he will do what few men have done; for building a college that is a college generally costs the lives of several men. Suppose that man among you who has borne the heat and burden of the day in the work that so far has been done should live twenty years longer, and after all succeed in getting Morris-Brown College to send its tap-root deep into the ground. Could there be a nobler work for him to do? could a nobler monument keep his name alive in the Church? I would rather be the founder of a true Christian college than to have for a monument the tallest pyramid in Egypt.

BROADEN THE COLLEGE, BETTER THE SCHOOL.*

SINCE September, 1856, when I signed the matriculation pledge, I have felt it in my heart to render to Emory College any service in my power that she demanded of me. Therefore I appear before the Society of the Alumni to-day. Two weeks ago, having been disappointed in your chosen orator, your Executive Committee called on me to make this address. The offering I bring to-day prefers only this claim to your attention: it is made by one who loves the old Mother and has done what he could for her honor.

CHANGES.

Since I first heard alumni speeches the world has moved fast and far. Stupendous changes have occurred. We are living in a history-making period; we have not lived through it. It may be questioned whether the world ever moved under the impulses of an intenser or more universally-operative energy. No country, no institution may be counted out or overlooked in any intelligent review of the past thirty years. It would require a long time, much knowledge, with strong and clear-sighted philosophical fac-

*Delivered before the Society of the Alumni of Emory College June 23, 1886.

ulty, to so much as name the changes, radical and therefore abiding, that our generation has witnessed, experienced, and brought about. Ours has been a revolutionary period, and its movements continue with ever-augmenting force and velocity. Not an island of the sea, large enough to support human life, has held its old place, has been at rest. Changes have been most observable in what we call civilization; perhaps most noteworthy, if we could better see what is under the surface of things, in what we call heathenism. The least important of these changes are such as are taken account of in census tables and other statistics. For the greater movements of humanity we have no measures; they are generally first in men's thoughts and afterward in men's lives. Sometimes they have their origin in life, and after a time get themselves into thoughts and into words.

IT IS GROWTH.

The current report of the world's movements is apt to be confusing. Men with a bad digestion, developing a fatal gift for perceiving the evil that is in the world, are in danger of falling into querulous despair, while the oversanguine tend to see only the good things of life, and become blind to perils they might avoid or overcome. But, if there were no middle ground, optimism is best; it may sometimes be a folly—it is not like pessimism, always cowardly and despicable. In many things, it may be said, the movement of our times has been downward, but in more it has been upward. Of disintegration there has been much, but of growth more. Where death has abounded life has much more abounded. I do firmly believe

that humanity grows better, and not worse; that the race is moving heavenward, and not hellward. I so believe because there are facts that justify my faith; also, and chiefly, because I believe that the great and good God governs the universe in the interests of the human race.

1886 BETTER THAN 1856.

In no part of the world, and among no people, have there during our time been greater changes than have occurred in that part of the American Union that is called the "South." It has been revolution of a sort that makes a true historical epoch. These changes are radical and vital, affecting not merely the form of institutions, but the innermost life of them. The changes we see in the form of things are less than those that are going on at the roots of life. The revolutions in our political, economic, and social life are less radical and abiding than those that are going on and will yet be evolved in our opinions, sentiments, and spirit of life. And 1886 is better than 1856.

What we have lost for a time is, for the most part, to be measured in money values. I say for a time, because we will more than regain the wealth that we have lost. It must be so; for free labor, in the long run, is more productive than slave labor. It cannot be otherwise in a world that God governs, unless it be found out that wealth is in itself no blessing, but a curse. The best possession the Old South ever had the New South has in larger measure and diviner quality—her unsophisticated belief in the Christian religion and her comparative exemption from the multiform unbeliefs that have been and are to-day the chief evils in the world.

There be some who count it disloyal to what was good in the former times to speak of the "New South." This is a child's folly, unless one should close his eyes to the light when seeking a safe path for his feet; unless men can reason wisely by denying facts that can, by no jugglery of logic, be put out of the way. It is not disloyal to the good that was in the old time to recognize the truth that is in the new. A wise and true man may be loyal to the past without denying the present or betraying the future. He may revere his ancestors without stultifying himself and without committing treason against his posterity. It is the new South; we may, if we will, make it the best South. God, in nature and in providence, has done his part.

THE FIRST DUTY.

As a Southern man, it has long appeared to me that the first duty is to find out the facts of our time and to recognize and avow them unflinchingly and unhesitatingly. He has learned much who knows what the question is. It is not what do we wish were the facts? but what are the facts? Avoid the question as we may, it will come back to us. The next duty is to adjust our plans and ourselves to what we know is the truth of things. This is better than the madman's folly of denying what we see; it is wiser than the spoiled child's folly of falling out with those who do not agree with us.

Whatever we object to or dislike or profess not to believe, if we live contrary to the facts, we will work at a fatal disadvantage; and our failure, in our time, will be certain and without remedy. If we care nothing for ourselves, we owe something to our chil-

dren. Most of us, by the blessing of God, will leave our children poor in money. Let us not add to their burdens by handicapping them in the race they must run when we are dead with exploded notions and unreasoning prejudices that by this time ought to have decent sepulture.

LITTLE SHORT OF A CRIME.

Passing by much that this train of thought presses upon my attention, let me say, as one who loves the South and the Union too, that it is little short of a crime against our children to denationalize their opinions and sentiments. It may be a luxury to our prejudice, but it will be a plague to our children. It will hinder their progress and embitter their lives. The new South must do her work, and achieve success by methods suited to her needs and in harmony with the time. If we only believed that saying of Jesus, "No man putteth new wine into old bottles," before this time many of our problems would have been solved, and all our burdens would have been lightened.

WE SHOULD RESPECT FACTS.

On an occasion like this one should not, for the sake of mere novelty, avoid the subject of education. If by what I am about to say some may be reminded that in an alumni address, published at your request in 1873, there are views inconsistent at some points with what is advanced to-day, be it so. I had thought of that. A man not asleep should learn something in thirteen years. He who learns will modify his opinions, for he who really thinks forms opinions to suit his present knowledge rather than his past utterances. It does seem reasonable that in considering

the best ways to do necessary things we should respect facts.

TWO THINGS I URGE TO-DAY

As to what is needed in our educational system:

1. The base should be broadened and strengthened.
2. Higher education should be liberalized and brought into better adjustment with the conscious wants of the people.

As to the first proposition, I mean this: The public school system must be developed. We want more common schools and we want better ones. To make them better we want, first, better teachers, and, second, longer terms. To meet the wants of the people we must increase their number. This means more money—a great deal more money.

ELIJAH NEEDED.

But, more than money, we need attention to the subject. Above all, parents need to have their consciences stirred; they need to feel that God requires them to educate their children. That man is a criminal who can, but will not, educate those he has been the means of bringing into the world. There is need of an educational Elijah to preach repentance to the great masses of our people, who are, in the contentment of stupidity, allowing their children to grow up untaught and unfitted for the duties of domestic life as well as the responsibilities of citizenship in a country where the ballot of a man who cannot read counts as much as the ballot of the wisest and best citizen of the commonwealth.

A deep, constant, intelligent interest in the subject is the one thing needful. If parents come to think on this subject, they will begin to feel the responsi-

bility. When they feel as they ought there will be money; also more schools, longer terms, and better teachers.

OBSTRUCTIONISTS.

There are two classes of opinion-makers who stand in the way of the development of our common school system. The small politician—the county demagogue—is one. It is strange, that so small a man can do so much harm. His predominant influence is at once a proof of the ignorance of his constituents and an argument for general education. He it is who resists appropriations in the name of economy. In the Legislature he speaks for “Buncombe,” and votes down every proposition that looks to the betterment of the public schools, and, with an eye to the coming elections, parades his devotion to his constituents, telling them how he saved their money. He, and such as he, pauperize the people by keeping them in ignorance. Well he may; when the people are taught his occupation will be gone.

Some of our best Church people stand in the way of the public schools. They are conscientious, and act under motives that challenge respect. But in antagonizing the public schools they find themselves in a most awkward predicament; they offer to the thousands of poor and ignorant children no substitute. For this they are not to be blamed, they cannot.

The Church cannot run the common schools. The Church has not the money, and the Churches could never agree. It is absolutely hopeless; the Church cannot provide elementary education. Let him who has the courage say that it is better to have no public schools than to have schools supported by the State.

I have not that courage. That means let well-to-do people educate their children, and let the children of the poor do without education. That might have been a possible solution in a despotic government fifty years ago. It is not possible now anywhere, least of all in a country of universal suffrage. If the well to do care nothing for the poor, they should care for themselves; the well to do cannot afford that an illiterate ballot should hold the balance of power.

The dangers of the public school system are mostly imaginary, for the great majority of the teachers are Christian people. The dangers that exist are avoidable. If the Christian people, who are in the majority and can do what they will in such matters, will only attend to the public school, there will be (the statement is unqualifiedly true in the South) no infidels in our elementary schools.

A QUESTION OF FACT.

This much is tolerably clear to me: Until we of the Church have something to offer the people, we should at least think of what we do before we condemn and reject the only opportunity that is offered for the education of the children of the country. Furthermore, it is no longer a question of theories; it is a question of fact. The public school, supported by the State, however imperfect it is, is rooted in our system; it is in our constitution and laws, and it has come to stay. It is the American system, it is the Georgia system. Grant that some other system would have been better. We have this and not some other system. The some other we cannot get. Any party organized to put out and down the public schools would be voted to a deserved death at the first trial

by ballot. Seeing that we are in such a case, is it not duty as well as common sense to take the State public school system in hand and make the most of it?

CHILDREN OF THE POOR WHITES.

I said just now that there is need of a school Elijah. I wish now to point out one of the special duties of such a prophet. He is needed to arouse the poor among our white people. Though I plead their cause, they will resent what I say; also deny it. But it is the truth in the case, painful and humiliating though it be. The Negroes, as a class, are more concerned about the education of their children, and are actually giving more attention to it, than are the poor whites as a class. It would be hardly fair to blame the Negroes for this state of things; very certain it is that blaming them won't help the case of the poor whites.

What is the duty of those who are in better circumstances, of those who are responsible for public opinion and for the laws and institutions of the country? He is a blind man who does not see what this duty is. I repeat my first proposition: The base of our educational system should be broadened and strengthened; we want more common schools, and we want better ones.

THE COLLEGE AND THE PEOPLE.

I advance now to the second proposition: Higher education should be liberalized and brought into better adjustment to the conscious wants of the people.

The plea made at this time is not in response to a mere sentiment of the times; it is offered for intensely practical reasons.

What is at the bottom of the common newspaper sneer at college-bred men? There must be some-

thing in it. Men do not say such things year in and year out just to hear themselves talk. There must be a reason. What the critics mean is about this: Many college-bred men are incapable and helpless when it comes to doing the real work of the world, and many who have had no college training show themselves to be masterful in affairs.

Much that is said and sneered is unjust and untrue. But in saying this we do not answer our critics. There remains somewhat that is justly charged, and those who are responsible for higher education should consider it. They will if they are wise.

I begin my plea for liberalization and better adjustment of the plans and methods in our higher education on the lowest ground—the business argument. But it is a matter of moment; business sense in college management is a very good and indispensable sort of sense.

For a long time our colleges must depend for support, in large measure, on tuition fees. Perhaps it is not best for any college to be entirely independent of patronage. To secure support the college constituency must be enlarged, the number of patrons must be increased. We must make college education a matter of concern to more people—not merely by telling them how good the college is that we invite them to attend, but by putting in the college more that the people want and what they know that they want. A college man has his ideal of a college, and the people have at least an idea of their needs. College people who are wise will consider somewhat the views and needs of the people whose patronage they ask.

THE GRIP OF DEAD HANDS.

The college courses of study are in somewhat the case of most commentaries on the Bible—drawn up for the wrong people. As to commentaries, many laymen have found out that, for the most part, they are written for commentators. The Rev. Dr. A. B. expounds as if he were thinking of the Rev. Dr. C. D. instead of the plain man for whom, according to the preface, the exposition was written. College courses of study are sometimes constructed with an eye to the probable criticism of the Faculties of other colleges, rather than with a clear consciousness of the wants of those who are to be taught. Sometimes a course of study is determined rather by respect for the centuries that are dead and gone than for the century that now is. It is a matter for curious study that dead men have more influence in saying what young people shall study than living men, who at least know the children. This, not to make over-much of it, seems to be a trifle absurd.

THE A.B. COURSE FOR THE A.B. DEGREE.

It may appear to some that I am about to attack what is called the close system—the regulation A.B. course of study. Then you are mistaken, unless you intend to set up the proposition that there is no other useful and necessary course of study. The A.B. course is an admirable and indispensable course—for the A.B. degree. Let it stand—rather make it broader and better for those who want it and, in view of what they are to be and to do, ought to take it. I will show you presently how the A.B. course can be made better, and, as things are with our colleges, the only way to make it better.

I have no sympathy with flippant sneers at the dead languages. We ought to have respect for the centuries; the experience of a thousand years is worth something. Sensible men will not overlook or undervalue its lessons. For what it was originally designed to do and for what it is fitted to do, the regulation A.B. course is the best that was ever devised.

THE WAY IT STARTED.

But what was it originally designed for? A little history will answer most definitely: It was primarily designed to train men for the learned professions. When the old universities in England and Europe devised their courses of study there was nothing to study but the writings of ancient times. It was the Greeks and Latins or nothing. The end sought was the training of men for the learned professions. Business and working men, who are the majority of men, were not so much as thought of; it would have been counted an impertinence in them had they thought of college study and training. Originally, no man looking to business went to Oxford University. Preachers were first thought of; then lawyers; after a long time medicine was counted as one of the learned professions.

HOW WE DANCE.

The regulation A.B. course in every real college in this country is lineally descended from the curriculum of Oxford, England. We still dance to the music of the godly monks who followed King Alfred's time. In this country the prevalent type is the Yale College course one hundred years ago, and that was in the type of the preceding centuries. The A.B. course of Emory College was fashioned after this likeness.

Do I make light of this A.B. course? Not in the least. Do I wish to degrade it? "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" Would I supplant it? Be the thought far from me. For what the A.B. course was designed to do and for what it is fitted to do it is, I repeat, the best course ever devised.

This I do advocate, and with all the strength that is in me—to-day and to-morrow, here and elsewhere—I advocate it: Other courses that shall be as well suited to the wants of other men as the regulation A.B. course is suited to the wants of men looking to the learned professions, or, if you please, to the wants of the few unhappy gentlemen of fortune who want a liberal education with no special end in view—who want it for the honor of it and for what is called "culture."

COLLEGES THAT SUIT THEIR PEOPLE.

We want colleges that suit the wants of the people we serve, not some other people or only a few of our people. I say people we serve, for colleges exist not for themselves, but for the people they represent. We don't want in this little town a store suited to Broadway, New York, just as Broadway doesn't want an Oxford store. We wish our store-keepers to sell what we want to buy; not what somebody else, a thousand miles away, wants to buy.

What we ought to do, and must do, or yield our crown to others, is to so adjust our plans and so to do our work as to do the greatest good to the greatest number. Is this democratic doctrine? We live in a democratic age and in a democratic country. Is it revolutionary? It is high time to move forward as well as upon our own axis.

The doctrine of this speech cannot, it seems to me, be irrelevant in relation to a college under the direction and patronage of a Christian Church; for the Church, like the State, stands for the whole people—all their professions, trades, and forms of business. A Church college needs friends and patrons in all the walks of honorable life, and to do all a Church college ought to do must have her sons in all the walks of life.

ELECTIVE COURSES.

What is generally understood by the “elective system” does not meet the end I seek. Young people are not likely to be wise in selecting the books they are to study; but elective courses of study are not open to the same objection.

The question is: Will a college adjust its plans to suit prospective business and working men as well as they suit prospective professional men? Then it stands to reason that what suits the one is not just the thing for the other, unless we are to train men for one thing who are to do a different thing.

Let each course—each department, if you please—stand on its own merits, and give to each department a full and equal chance.

If men wish to pursue what is called the scientific course, or the business course, or the technological course, dignify that course by your full respect and confidence, and honor the course and those who pursue it by doing the best work possible to the case. I make bold to say that if other courses than the A.B. course have been held in less respect, it is not due solely to the courses themselves, nor to those who have pursued them. In a sense, the colleges, by their

system of rewards and honors, have put them under ban.

IF BOYS' BRAINS WERE LEAD.

Again I say that this address and the purpose underlying it, so far as one man's opinions may deserve attention (and any man's opinion deserves attention in proportion to the reason that is in it), has no word to say against the regulation A.B. course, as it concerns those who ought to take it. This address has a word to say for other courses better suited to, at least, some students. It is now agreed that the female colleges should not undertake to teach each girl to play the piano, simply because she is a girl. The reason for this conclusion is good. Some girls can't play the piano. No more can every boy become a Greek scholar, a master in Latin, an expert in the calculus. If boys' brains were like lead, the same mold would do for all.

HOW TO SAVE THE A.B. COURSE.

I promised to show how the A.B. course may be bettered in our colleges. The plan I suggest is so simple that I fear it will hardly command respect. Provide other courses for those who do not wish or need the A.B. course. On the accepted plan the A.B. course must be abridged to make classification possible. A must not go beyond so much because B cannot. A's progress is retarded and limited because B cannot keep up with him or go so far. Place B where he belongs, and A can "go on to perfection;" and B, who was obliged to fail in the A.B. course, will at least have the chance to succeed in a course suited to his gifts and needs. And B's success in his line may be as full as A's in his. It is not relevant

to the discussion to compare the two, for each is necessary.

WHAT A COLLEGE IS FOR.

The sum of the matter is that the highest culture is not the chief end of a college. Few are capable of it, few need it, few receive it. The chief end of a college is to fit in the best way the most men and women to be and to do what nature gave them talent for.

EMORY GROWS.

For one, I do rejoice that Emory College gives signs of liberalization—that is, of growth. I rejoice in its A.B. course, and I will rejoice in its scientific course when it has a full chance to breathe and grow. I rejoice in the business course the college offers to young men seeking a training. I rejoice in the new School of Technology, or “Tool-craft,” if the Saxon form of speech be allowed. I have heard of one young man who, by abounding grace, squeezed through the A.B. course, expressing pleasure that he got through before they introduced “a blacksmith-shop at Emory.” If the college may be pardoned for certifying his mastery in the languages, the higher mathematics, and the arts, he may well forgive the college for her new departure in teaching men the mechanic arts.

AN ECHO IN A SNEER.

But his sneer is noteworthy because it is an echo. It gives semi-articulate voice to the bad sentiment so prevalent among our white people who can live without working with their hands—a sentiment that breeds discontent and a certain shame in those who do labor with their hands. There is not, as I see

Southern life, a more hurtful and vicious sentiment common among us than the feeling indicated by the young man's sneer at the "blacksmith-shop." It is more common among us than other civilized people; it is a part of the curse of slavery upon white people. It explains the rush of our young men to the cities to secure cheap clerkships; it explains the common unrest of our young men on the farms.

A LIVING PROTEST.

The School of Technology is a living protest against this folly, this revolt against the divine law of labor. The new school is better than a thousand speeches on the dignity of labor. The whistle of its engine is the proclamation, morning, noon, and evening, of a new and better time.

HOW THE "YANKEES" DO.

I conclude this address with a few well-meant words to the sons of Emory College and to the friends of true education. The old college has been generous; never yet has she turned one away simply because he could not pay tuition fees. Her *alumni* roll represents the smaller part of those who for nearly fifty years have been receiving favors from our noble old mother. Has not the time fully come when her sons should be moved with a quickening sense of responsibility of obligation, to return to the college some token of their gratitude as well as some expression of philanthropy? The sons of Yale, Harvard, Princeton, and other Northern and Eastern colleges have made rich the institutions that made them men. We of the South have not been accustomed to think of the "Yankees" as generous. What must they think of us? Perhaps they acted from a sense of duty.

NOW IS THE TIME TO DO THE MOST GOOD.

One hundred dollars now may well be worth more than one thousand twenty years hence. Let those who believe in doing at a college what the people need to have done at such a time as this help those who are trying to do it. I would have this appeal go outside the ranks of college-bred men. The strong and successful men of business who have so long been telling us that our college should be more practical now have their opportunity. We have heard their criticisms and have considered their advice. We believe they are in the right, and wish to carry out their views. As business men, they know that business cannot be carried on without money. If they knew school-teaching as they know business, they would know that school-teaching is not a money-making avocation. If teachers can make a living out of tuition, they do well. They cannot do this in a school whose duty to God and his poor is to remit tuition fees for many. How much less can such a school in itself make the money to extend its work, to erect and equip new buildings, to furnish teachers for many who cannot pay tuition fees, and to place tuition at a price suited to the circumstances of the people? Our Northern friends understand this better than we do, and on business as well as philanthropic principles put money in their schools. History does not speak well of the Pharaoh who required his servants to make bricks without straw.

God has given us a noble heritage in this Southern land; Providence has brought us to a good time. It remains for us of the New South to make it the best possible South. The people should do their part.

THE GAMMON SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

Fourth Annual Opening.

[Atlanta, Ga., October 27, 1886.]

IT may be questioned whether any single institution under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church holds a place of importance and responsibility equal to that which is possible to the "Gammon School of Theology." To state the thought otherwise, the Methodist Episcopal Church could better afford to lose "Drew" than "Gammon." Looking at the matter in another light, it may well be questioned whether any single institution in the Southern States could not be better spared. These things I say not to please you, but to quicken and strengthen your sense of responsibility. More—if I may to any extent stir the conscience of the great Church in whose name you are now fairly beginning to do the work of preparing colored men, called of God to preach the gospel, to fulfill their ministry as it ought to be done.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

Not many will accept my views of the comparative importance to the whole people of educational institutions. Be it so; it is of no consequence that my views be accepted as my views. If they are unsound, they ought to be rejected; if they are grounded in facts, in due time they will become the views of those who seek to know what is the very truth. In the view presented this afternoon a candid mind will not find

a suspicion of disrespect for any other such institution in the country; I set great store by them all. But the schools that educate and prepare white people for the work of Christian life are so many that the loss of one would not impoverish the scholarship and religion of the country. The colored people could ill afford to lose the least of the institutions that give them opportunity, and the white people can as little afford such a loss. And this is peculiarly true of the white people of the South, for they, next to the African race itself, are most concerned in the success and usefulness of the agencies that good people employ to uplift and save the lately emancipated and enfranchised race.

Comparing this with other schools that endeavor to prepare colored men for the work of the Christian ministry, it is not in the least implied that they are not good. As to purpose and method and present results, they may be, for all I know, as good or better than this School of Theology. But this school, so far as I am informed, holds a unique place as regards future possibilities. Would God they were all as well off! Would God there were scores of consecrated men and women as wise and generous as the good man whose name this school right worthily bears!

Considering the exceptionally broad and strong financial foundation upon which this school will rest, and upon which it will, by the favor of God, be built from year to year and from generation to generation, I think I may say without exaggeration that the Gammon School of Theology is in many respects the most important single experiment made by Protestantism in this country—so far as I know, in any country—

in the momentous matter of teaching and training colored preachers. Perhaps it would be safe to say that no other institution in these States has at this time such an opportunity to help or harm the cause for which it exists.

I do not mean to be impolite, but I doubt if the great Church that stands closest to it has any just comprehension of the importance of this well-begun work. I am sure that it has not yet gauged its magnitude. I know that, with a few exceptions, the white people of the South do not justly appreciate this or any institution like it. They cannot, for few of them know of its existence; many do not care to know; not a few look with suspicion upon every thing like it; a steadily and rapidly diminishing number throw contempt upon the whole business of educating colored people in any way and for any thing. As to these last, a few years will terminate their antagonism. It must be so; for to some increasing light and ever-growing candor will convert them to right views; as to others, mortality will silence their opposition, and the clear light of the world to come bring them to see all things as they really are.

FOR THE WORK'S SAKE.

To one who cares more for his work than for men's opinions of it there remains a still more discouraging statement. Few of the colored people themselves have right views or any thing like just appreciation of such an institution as this. For this they deserve small blame. Education is new to them. It has been hitherto considered as the white man's luxury—at best as a something that enabled him to make money and get on in the world. Its real value in making

men by developing character and enlarging and ennobling life few colored people can at this time, by any possibility, understand. Few white people understand it. Their wrong views and their lack of adequate appreciation of the true uses of education, while affording perhaps the very strongest illustration of their need of education, should not surprise us. Our fathers could not have understood the usefulness of the telegraph; at the first all but a very few ridiculed it. They lived before it and without it.

PIONEERS MUST BE BRAVE AND PATIENT.

It is re-assuring and inspiring to know that most of the people who are engaged in Gammon and in kindred schools can get on without just appreciation. If they were not thus minded, their failure would be as certain as it would be sad. They are not the first, and they will not be the last, of God's servants who are called to walk alone a narrow and difficult path. No new movement for the bettering of the world that was also a great movement was ever yet at the first commended by the majority. If the majority of men go at all, they must go slow. The Baptists of England thought William Carey a lunatic when he first talked of missions to the heathen. One of his biographers says that at the beginning they could not so much as get a 'squire to preside at one of their meetings. The English Wesleyans yielded to the tearful entreaties of Thomas Coke for permission to try to found a mission in India when he proposed to make the bold experiment at his own expense.

One generation "slays the prophets" of reform and progress; the next builds "tombs" to their honor. I wish to say, because it ought to be said, that there is

nothing surprising or anomalous in the social isolation decreed by prejudice and ignorance against those white men and women in the South who are engaged in the holy work of educating the Negro race. This is not said to justify in the least the sentiments and conduct of those who are responsible for your isolation. This conduct cannot in the least be justified. I believe it is both foolish and wicked. You may not thank me for telling you that I speak of these things to encourage you. But unless you are much stronger than average men and women you need encouragement. You are doing the work of pioneers, and pioneers have need to be braver and stronger than those who follow the routine of old occupations. You are doing the work under circumstances unmatched in any part or age of the world. This work differs in many ways from mission-work among the heathen. It is not needful to dwell upon the points of difference. It is enough to say that what in your work is altogether exceptional in its relation to what is called society is due to slavery. Perhaps you will not understand me. Men who have viewed slavery as it existed a generation ago from the distance of a thousand miles, or the greater distance measured by a different education, or who have only read of it in books, cannot understand how great is the claim made upon the Christian patience of the teachers in Negro schools in relation to the slow growth of friendly feeling toward their work in Southern circles. But human history shows not one instance where opinions, to say nothing of sentiments, rooted for centuries in the life of a people have been revolutionized in a generation. History will never make such a record.

Hitherto it records no instance more remarkable than the changes that have taken place and are now going on in the minds of the Southern people. The profession of sudden and absolute revolution in opinion by a whole people might be evidence that they never had any opinions; certainly it would not satisfy those learned in human nature of their sincerity.

ENCOURAGEMENT, NOT DEFENSE.

Do you think I am offering these considerations in defense of opinions and sentiments I long held, and that most Southern people hold to-day, but with an ever-relaxing grasp? Then you mistake my purpose. I only wish to state the facts in order to encourage patience in those who need patience like Christ's in order that they may do well one of the most important and difficult works he has in this day committed to his children.

Perhaps it was neither expected nor desired that I should say such things. I was left utterly free as to my lines of discussion. But from my stand-point it seems to be a matter of prime importance that all who are concerned in this work should consider the real facts in the case. One thought more in this direction I bring to your attention. Many doubt, to state it mildly, whether any high educational work can be done in such institutions. How are they to be convinced? You and I know that it can be done. What arguments will you make? It may be answered: "It is not necessary to convince people who doubt on such subjects in the year 1886." Possibly, but it were better for us all that they were convinced. Arguments will hardly meet this case. In the long run facts will meet it. Do the work that doubters say

cannot be done, and "wisdom will be justified of her children." It is better to convert the gainsayers than to silence them. If we give them time—what if it takes a long time—they will be convinced; they will believe for the works' sake. God is "long-suffering," and good men will be.

THE OLD FOUNDATIONS.

Coming now to consider the work to be done by such schools as this, let me say that there are two classes of thinkers who are equally wrong. First, those who say in effect that there never was any thoroughly faithful and good work done for the religious life of the colored people in the days of slavery are utterly wide of the mark. This country afforded no better men than those who worked for Christ and souls in this field, and their work was good. It was enough to secure the South from San Domingo horrors during the late war. The work to be done here must be built upon this foundation. Its imperfections are many. They are due to the antecedents of the African race in Africa for thousands of years, as well as in this country for two hundred years—antecedents for which we to-day are not responsible—and to the conditions of life brought about by slavery, for which this whole country, as well as England, is responsible.

I know that the religious life of the colored people in the days of slavery was not what it ought to have been; yet among them were the holiest of men and women. It is also true that the religious life of the Churches planted by the apostles in heathen cities was not what it ought to have been. But those who followed them built upon the foundations they found;

they could get no better. Equally wrong is he who may say that at this time there cannot be better work done for the colored people than was possible a generation ago. *Freedom makes better work possible.* Education that comes from freedom makes better work possible. The larger human life is the better religion ought to be—will be, if men do their duty. In the old days schools for colored people were impracticable, colleges and theological institutes were impossible. All this is changed; schools and colleges exist now, and are working miracles. A full million of colored children are in the public schools of the South, and it is safe to say that more than two millions of colored people can read the word of God. These figures indicate stupendous changes; finite minds cannot gauge the possibilities they indicate for the years to come. But freedom brings its own responsibilities as well as dangers. This topic I do not now discuss. It is introduced at this point for the purpose of calling attention to a most remarkable fact connected with the development of the African race in this country since its emancipation.

IN CHURCHES OF THEIR OWN.

Influences apparently beyond human control (it is much easier to dogmatize about them than to explain them) have brought the colored people of this country into schools and Churches of their own. I am not building a theory; I am simply stating facts. Let those disregard them who have the courage. Take Methodism for example: The colored people are in Churches and Conferences of their own. Where they did not begin alone the separation has come. Who is so wise as to be sure that Providence is not

in all this? Who knows the methods by which the Head of the Church may train a people to be self-dependent? Who imagines that he intends any people in any mission-field to be forever the wards of their friends and helpers? The thoughtful man can accept God's providence in all these things, and yet recognize the fact that the colored Churches have brought over from slavery and conditions that go back through the centuries elements of weakness and danger that require attention and remedy.

The Negro race in this country reveals to observing and reflecting men many wonderful and hopeful qualities as well as not a few that alarm and distress the best friends of these children of Providence. In their Church as well as in their social life are elements of evil and superstition—many of them inherited through past ages, many of them developed in this country by the conditions of life in the days of slavery. It could not be otherwise. He is no friend of the race who denies the existence of these evils. He is their friend who, recognizing them and knowing their evil, points them out and seeks to overcome them; just as the true physician is he who, so far from shutting his eyes to the evidence of disease in his patient, studies carefully the symptoms of the case, that he may cure disease and save life. He is no true doctor who flatters a dying man out of the knowledge of his true condition.

WHAT DEPENDS ON THE CHURCHES' LIFE.

In seeking to better the religious life of our colored brethren we will gratefully employ all the instrumentalities that God gives us to use. Schools, more and better, will help; all the opportunities that come

with freedom will help. But if their Church life be weak or corrupt, all will be in vain. Accepting, for argument's sake, any notion that may be advanced as to the real character of the Church life of the colored people in this country—the notion of fanatics who think it well-nigh perfect, the notion of other fanatics who see no good in it—this remains indisputably true: In any nation, Christian or heathen, its religion is its controlling force.

As to my own opinion—with as good opportunities as most men to know what the religious life of the colored people really is—I say unhesitatingly that his religion is his strongest and best characteristic. All there is of hope for him in this country will rise or fall with the healthy development or the decay of his religion. Without true religion pure home life is as impossible to the Negro as it is to the white man; without pure home life Christian civilization is inconceivable.

I can now better say something more directly applicable to the work of the Gammon Theological School and similar institutions. No people can rise above their religion; no people's religion can rise above the doctrine preached and lived by their ministry. The statement has no application to the religion of the colored people that it has not to any other people. It has always been true, and universally true. Because it was true Christ took infinite pains to prepare his disciples in doctrine and experience for the work of saving the world by preaching the gospel. In Germany God had to reform Luther before the reformation of the people was possible. In England he reformed the Wesleys before Methodism was possible.

If any man in the world needs to know his business, it is the preacher of the gospel. If any preacher most needs to know it, it is he whose ministry is to the most needy and ignorant of God's children. It were less harmful to souls to have incapable, unworthy, and impure ministers for white people than for colored people. This is not the world's way of looking at such questions, but the world's way of looking at questions concerning religion is always wrong. It is the gospel way of looking at the subject under discussion, and that way is always right.

Passing by for the time what Providence has in store for the redemption of the unknown millions in the Dark Continent, speaking only of the African race in this country, it is vital to every best interest of the race, for this world and the next, that the preachers of this people know the word of the Lord, and how to expound it to their congregations.

THE GOSPEL MUST BE LIVED.

To preach the gospel so as to save man, two conditions must exist. The preacher must understand the gospel, and he must live it. The gospel cannot be savingly preached in mere words; it must be incarnate in those who proclaim it. The gospel must be lived as well as taught to be understood. If this were not true, it would answer to send Bibles to China, and leave the whole issue to a study of the text. We send men and women to China to live the gospel, that the heathen may read in their lives a commentary they can understand. Jesus lived what he taught, and it is his life that makes it possible for us to understand his words. His life is the exposition of his doctrine.

I will not at all discuss the general question of the usefulness of theological schools in preparing men to preach the gospel. That argument is ended. We have the verdict of the ages and the *consensus* of the Church. But this I say: If theological schools are good for white people with a thousand advantages, they are necessary to colored people with a thousand disadvantages. If white men need them, colored men must have them. There are two sorts of folly and fanaticism that sensible people will avoid in considering the subject under discussion. The sincere fanaticism of ignorance, that repudiates all learning as helpful in preaching the gospel, is one; the conceited fanaticism of culture, that repudiates all but learning, is another. Wise men will walk between these extremes. If we do not demand learning of all who feel moved to preach the gospel, we dare not deny it to the few who have capacity and opportunity for acquiring it. There is at this time no danger threatening the African pulpit in this country more remote than the danger of overeducation. There is no occasion for alarm. At the present rate of progress danger is a thousand years distant. We may leave it to posterity; our fathers left us many problems. And we may do what many good people find difficulty in doing—leave Providence to settle the issues that Providence itself brings into existence.

THE ONLY REMEDY.

Of course there are dangers incidental to education as to the possession of any of the gifts of God. But safety is not found in abridging education, but in enlarging and bettering it. The only cure for the incidental evils of education is more education. If now

and then we have observed in an educated young colored preacher the growth of vanity and self-seeking ambition, should this surprise or dismay us? Have we not seen the same evil things in educated young white preachers? But neither can be cured by keeping them in ignorance; the remedy is to educate them in a better way. If in some individual case we find that cure is hopeless, then our plain course is to educate enough others to break and destroy his evil influence. For example: If in one of our colored Conferences only one member were really educated, he might be dangerous by abusing his power. There is but one remedy for such a case. We must re-enforce him by many other educated men. They will strengthen him for good by reforming him, or they will bind him hand and foot for evil. We may depend upon it that true learning breeds modesty, whether in the African or the Caucasian heart. And true learning breeds appreciation of others; it recognizes and rejoices in the good work wrought by God's untutored children. It is the half-taught preacher, whether white or black, who discounts with sneers the work of the more ignorant brethren. Wesley was the best scholar in his Conference, and he appreciated the work of the illiterate exhorters as no other man in England.

EXHORTATION.

In speaking to the friends and students of a Methodist Theological School an "exhortation by way of conclusion" will be in order.

1. One exhortation at this time to the Southern white people. You cannot avoid having opinions upon the subject of Negro education in its various

forms. It is impossible that intelligent people can long ignore a work that involves the destiny of seven millions of people living in their midst. The exhortation is to investigate the subject. It is worthy your careful investigation; its friends invite investigation to the bottom. To encourage your studies in this most interesting field I will say that I have seen no intelligent person informed in the facts of the case who in the least doubted the practicability of educating the Negro; those best informed most believe in his capacity. Moreover, I have seen no man or woman perfectly willing to adjust thought and feeling to the principles of the Sermon on the Mount opposed in heart to this work.

2. To the congregations of colored Methodists. When these students by and by become your pastors, receive them without prejudice and without vanity. Their training will make them more useful to you, but without your co-operation their learning will be in vain.

3. May I be pardoned one word to the honored gentlemen of the Faculty of Gammon Theological School? The advice I would venture to give is simple. Do *your* work, and not the work of others. You cannot do that work on the model of other schools. Your work is unique. You will have to invent your own methods. Many a school has failed of success by undertaking to work on plans suited to other conditions. If you escape mistakes for a time, it will be a marvel of good judgment. It will perhaps take some courage to follow strictly your own judgment of your work, but you are capable of the achievement.

4. To the white people of the Methodist Episcopal

Church a word of exhortation may not be out of season. Nourish these schools. If your cause among the colored people of the South calls for other schools like Gammon and kindred institutions, found them. If those you have under your care need more money, give it to them. They have needs, and God has given to you in trust resources to supply them. You claim special relations to the work of evangelizing the colored people in the South. For one, I believe that that claim is well grounded. I am glad that you are here, and that you are doing the work you are doing, and where you are doing it. You cannot afford to relax your zeal for these people; the Southern white people cannot afford it; it would be fatal to the colored people if you should fail them. Others are doing good work as well as you, but they cannot spare you. It is a great trust committed to a Church well able to meet its responsibilities.

5. To the young preachers getting ready for their work this word of exhortation: My young brethren, in God's name do your best. You will make the best argument for the cause Gammon Theological School represents. If you fail to be more useful and true, your opportunities will only make your failure the more disastrous. If you turn out badly, no arguments can vindicate the institution you will dishonor. Consider prayerfully and daily St. Paul's advice to Timothy: "Take heed to thyself and to the doctrine." Be strong in pureness, in modesty, in humility, in compassion on souls, and in zeal for God's house. Let reputation take care of itself. Watch as against the coming of the plague, the uprisings of mere worldly ambition. Shut out from most of the other

spheres of public life, the colored pulpit in this country is especially exposed to the temptations of ambition. Watch against ambition. "By that sin the angels fell."

6. I am unwilling to close this address without saying: The Christian people of this country—I speak to both races—cannot be faithful to God and leave Africa out of their thoughts and prayers and plans. This country is *under bonds to the Dark Continent*. The seven millions of the African race in our midst in this Christian country are arguments that cannot be answered for the evangelization of the unknown millions beyond the sea. We may well say, in contemplating the constant uplifting and Christianization of the African race in this country: "What hath God wrought!" God's work among these people here is but the earnest of what he is going to do for the many millions who now sit in the land of the shadow of death.

A DEDICATION SPEECH.

The "Adaline Smith Industrial Home."*

CONGRATULATIONS and gratitude become this day. "Philander Smith College" is strengthened for its great and good work by the completion of this beautiful and well-planned house—this "Industrial Home" that will give opportunity to teach and to train many young women of the African race in the arts and spirit of making and keeping Christian homes. The "Woman's Home Missionary Society" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in adding this home to its educational plant, has again exhibited the good sense that characterizes the administration of its affairs. Your devoted and very capable matron, Miss McIntosh, has now large increase of opportunity as well as responsibility for her noble and most useful work. The young women who will here be brought up and trained in character and in the gracious arts of usefulness have occasion to rejoice. So have those who may some day be their husbands

*The "Adaline Smith Industrial Home"—named for the good woman whose money built it, is an admirably-designed building connected with "Philander Smith College," Little Rock, Ark. It is designed to teach young colored women Christian home-making and home-keeping. This address was delivered at the dedication of the "Home," March 5, 1888.

and children. The good people who have placed some of their Lord's money in this building in order to better the conditions of their lowly sisters have, more than all others perhaps, occasion to be grateful for the opportunities Providence gave them. Wherefore, I congratulate all concerned in the completion of the "Adaline Smith Industrial Home" for the right training of young women who from year to year may be students in Philander Smith College.

There are many themes and thoughts that press upon me to-day; I shall not finish the discussions this address will bring forward. When I have spoken a good long time there must be a stop, not an end. You must give me liberty to roam at will. The speaking may be like the plowing a simple-minded boy did one day. The "boss" accompanied him to the field to show him his work. As they were entering the field to be plowed the man was called away. On the far side stood a white cow, quietly grazing. Pointing to her, he said to the boy, who had just sense enough to obey orders: "Plow straight to that white cow." He went to his house, intending to return in a moment and add to his directions more definite information. He was detained for several hours, and forgot all about the plowboy. The faithful fellow plowed to the cow, and when she naturally moved ahead of him he followed after. There was never such plowing done before; the cow kept moving, and the plowboy followed—across, around, here, there, everywhere. The field was not well plowed, but a great deal of ground was broken up. Let me follow the cow to-day; we will not get outside the field, and we will both come home by sundown.

A UNIQUE HISTORY.

If there is any thing in human history more wonderful than the chapter that records the work of the friends of the education of the colored people in the South during the last twenty years, I do not know what it is.

Just now I spoke of the African race, now of the colored people; presently I shall perhaps say Negro race. Colored people is the most objectionable phrase for distinguishing the people of whom I am speaking. It is absurd to object to the word Negro, which is only the name of a race as German is the name of a race.

But I alluded to the history of education among the African people. It is a surprising and wonderful history every way. If we think of the terrible and universal ignorance that confronted Christian philanthropists at the close of the war between the States; if we think of the difficulties and discouragements under which this work of uplifting has been done; if we think of the vast sums of money that have been expended in it; if we consider the hundreds of noble men and women who have devoted themselves to this hard field with a courage and fortitude unmatched in our times; if we consider how much has been really done—it is most wonderful. I doubt if one mind, North or South, saw far enough and clearly enough in 1865 to have distinctly seen as a possibility what we know as blessed facts to-day. Certainly none who knew the truth of things in 1865 could have foretold what is now history in 1888. A few general statements will confirm what I have said about the work of a little more than twenty years. There are now about one million children of African descent at

school in the Southern States. These are learning the elementary branches in nearly sixteen thousand common schools supported by taxation. These schools are all taught by men and women of the Negro race; the exceptions are so few as not to affect the sense of the statement. About two-thirds of these teachers are men, one-third women. I think it should be the other way: two-thirds women. Many of these men should be at the plow or bench, thus giving a better chance to the women. Not less than two millions of the colored people can read. Some of them read with difficulty, many easily. Some of them read but poorly; many of them can read as well as anybody reads.

DESPISE NOT THE DAY OF SMALL THINGS.

Here, if anywhere, we must not despise the day of small things. He who can read, although with labor and by spelling out the words one at a time, has begun; and, if he will, he can go on. He has in his hands the golden key of knowledge; if he will, he may unlock the doors that open into the treasures of all learning and wisdom. Read the story of Elihu Burritt, the "Learned Blacksmith." No Negro child in Little Rock is poorer than he, and not one has fewer friends. But by keeping at it he became master of many languages—a writer and speaker of learning and power, who was listened to with respect by millions.

It is true enough that many of the schools where these people have learned so little are incapable of teaching much; many of them are as poor schools as schools can be. But we must not revile them. They are better a thousand times than none; the fact of

their existence is itself progress; the fact that we are dissatisfied with them is the promise of greater progress. Sometimes I find a Negro man speaking ill of those little schools. It is a shame to him; he is ungrateful and unworthy who despises the little he has. The right thing, the only thing to do with these schools is to make them better.

Lest I forget it farther on I want to say now: Some of these public or common schools for colored children, taught by colored teachers, are just as good as any other public schools of the same grade. These good schools are taught by men and women trained in institutions like Philander Smith, Fisk, Benedict, Livingstone, Tuskegee, Biddle, Shaw, Paine, and the rest. These schools will get better steadily, for the colleges are doing better work in preparing teachers.

In the different schools of higher grade in the South, known as universities, colleges, institutions, seminaries, etc., there are as many as twenty thousand students, I should say, counting all grades. Those who complete, or nearly complete, even the English or normal course—and in the course of years thousands will get so far—will be prepared to do good teaching in the primary schools. If they do not teach school—and all cannot teach and ought not to teach—they can do what is quite as important: they can teach their people, by example as well as precept, how to be useful, self-sustaining citizens; how to be builders and keepers of decent and Christian homes. Every year the average is better in these schools—thanks to the institutions that train the teachers.

Do not these facts—one million at school, several thousand preparing to teach, and two millions who

can at least read—sustain me in saying that there is no chapter in the history of education like this chapter, this record of twenty years in the effort to teach the colored people of the South? As many totally illiterate people were never before taught in so short a time.

GREAT PROGRESS AND GREAT HELP.

Nothing equals the progress of the Southern Negro but the effort of the white people to help them. Many colored people I meet have a very meager notion of what has been done for them; many of them are lacking in gratitude because they do not know the facts of their own history, or, knowing, do not understand them. Some of you are disposed to frown at me now, as if I were doing you a wrong. Not so; I am doing you a kindness, for I am stating a truth that you should consider. The fact is that many of you brood over what you lack till you forget what you have. And sometimes unwise people—both white and black—make speeches to you that do you harm; they dwell on what you lack in many directions till you cease to thank even God for what you enjoy. This is a very great hurt to you; not simply because ingratitude is sinful, but because people who are not thankful for God's gifts are not hopeful or courageous for the future. Ingratitude destroys faith. Many a man could earn what he lacks if he would work as much as he sulks and growls.

The poor old woman, when a group of neighbors were telling their lacks and hardships and grievances over and over, was of better spirit, and her words made a good text for a sermon I would preach to you now if I had time. Their complainings wore her out,

and she broke in upon them in this wise: "Well, I haven't got but two teeth, but, thanks to goodness, they hits one another." What a misfortune had they been both on one jaw, or on different sides! Such a spirit deserved a full set, upper and lower. But my cow has made quite a turn.

I started to speak of the great effort of the white people of this country to help you. No such efforts were ever in the same length of time put forth by one race to help another. I challenge comparison in any field of missionary or philanthropic effort. Think on what I tell you when we are gone from here; you will not take it all in at once. Hardly anybody can take it in at all. Begin with the least—the money that has gone into the education and uplifting of the seven millions of the African race in the South. Not less than fifty millions of dollars have, since 1865, been invested and expended in the teaching of your people. Who knows what one million of dollars means; what fifty means?

THE SOUTH AHEAD.

Northern benevolence has done most of the work in the higher grade institutions where teachers may be prepared; and this was wise; for this plan got the most education to the most people soonest. But Southern State governments have done no little in maintaining and helping the training-schools. I have reason to believe that not far from two millions of public money has been expended by the Southern States during the past twenty years in aiding institutions that prepare teachers. Besides this, we should remember that it takes much more to support the sixteen thousand public schools than to run the col-

leges. So it happens that more than half of the fifty million dollars spent in the education of the colored people during these twenty years has come out of the State governments. And you know very well that Southern white people pay most of the taxes.

I do not say these things to boast. I think we of the South should have done more, and many times by word and pen have said so; but it is good for us all that we should know the facts. Colored people suffer many wrongs, I know, but they cannot afford to be unjust, they cannot afford to think that nothing has been done by the South to lift them up. And there are others who should study the facts for the sake of right thinking and just feeling and truth-speaking.

But more important than the fifty millions is what cannot be told in figures. I mean the personal work done during these twenty odd years by thousands of good men and women who have worked in this wide field just as Adoniram Judson worked in Burmah. I have known many of these good men and women, and it is an honor and privilege to know them. Mixed up with them have been some few who were hirelings and adventurers and cranks. But, take them all in all, Christian America can show no nobler, better people, or more devoted men and women doing their best for Christ and man in a broad and difficult field. No seven millions of needy people in any country have so many good friends of another race trying to do them good.

But for keeping you too long there are other things along here that should be said; I can only allude to them now. One thing, and it is no small thing: The education of the colored people has fewer enemies

and more friends in the South to-day than ever before. No respectable man now argues against the cause; no man of standing who has any future in Church or State makes a speech or writes an article with his name to it to prove that Negroes cannot be taught or that it is not best that they be taught. There is more or less argument as to what they should be taught, or as to how they should be taught. But this is immense progress from the old folly of denying that they could be taught to any considerable extent. I can say more: Southern Christian people are beginning to move in this work. They are beginning to put their own money in it; from year to year they will do more.

WHAT HURTS MOST.

Nothing sets your cause back among Southern white people—and I speak of them now because you and they live together, and they see how you do—like the bad use made of their education by some young colored men and women. Going to school spoils some people—they get proud, impudent, lazy, wicked—and people only half converted to the doctrine of Negro education and uplifting are apt to fall from the grace they have when they meet up with a colored youth whose college has only developed the fool that was in him.

Remember, young people, that when you leave Philander Smith College you have its honor in your keeping; that it is in your power to advance or hinder the cause the college stands for, the cause of making a great people of your race. I declare to you the worst enemies of the African people in this country are not foolish white people who treat them sometimes rudely,

or wicked white people who treat them sometimes unjustly; but your worst enemies are college-bred men and women of your own race who make a bad use of their education; who are only made smarter, and not better, by their learning. If book-learning only makes men smarter for evil deeds, it is no blessing. If I have to deal with a bad man, let him be ignorant. But if I follow on this line much farther, my cow will be entirely out of sight; but don't forget what I tell you this day: The future of this cause, the future of the education of the Negro in this country, will henceforth be largely in his own hands. We are beginning to gather the harvests now, and men are considering what sort of grain is yielded. At the beginning men could plead for your education with arguments drawn from the reasons of things. But so much has been done that henceforth arguments must take account of facts, and you people will furnish the facts. Make good use of education, and you make an argument for more; make a bad use of it, and you make an argument for less.

It is true we want more schools for primary work; we want them for longer terms; we want them better. How are they to be made better? By better teaching. How are we to have better teaching? By better work in the colleges and other training-schools. How are we to have better work? On the part of teachers, by striving more earnestly to do the sort of work that needs to be done; on the part of students, using greater diligence in learning thoroughly what is taught.

HOW TO MOVE LEGISLATURES.

But if we are to have more schools, better schools,

and schools for longer terms, the States must put more money in the public school work. How are legislators to be persuaded to do this? Chiefly by doing better work in the schools we have, and so proving that it will pay to improve them and extend them. Some day it may come to pass in the Arkansas Legislature that a school bill appropriating more money to multiply, extend, and improve the public schools will want but one vote to become a law. At such a time it may be that the fate of the bill will turn on the sort of work that some of you do in some little country school. If you do well, the man who goes to the Legislature from your county may remember how well you did, and, in consideration of what he knows of you and your work, he may vote the supplies. But careless work and poor work on your part may win his vote for the other side.

The plan I suggest may appear to you as a poor one; this route to success may seem long. But it is the shortest way after all, for there is no other way. Better work will command more money. There can be no mistake about what I tell you to-day: Your teachers may do their best; Churches, and societies like the "Freedmen's Aid Society," may do their best; your friends, North and South, may make the best arguments they can for your cause, by word or by pen; but after all you people must make the final appeal to the judgment and conscience of the country. You carry the fortunes of your cause. Your use of education will build up, or it will tear down, the cause in which your best fortunes as a people are involved.

GOD IN HISTORY.

I want to talk to you now of another matter, than

which, as I read history and men, nothing can be more important. The theme is too great for just treatment by any one; it can only be touched upon now. This is what I want you to think of and see and acknowledge: The hand of God in your past history. No people can make a great people who do not recognize God in all their ways; no people can work out their salvation for the years to come without faith in God; and no people can trust God for tomorrow who do not recognize God in yesterday.

When Moses gave the law to Israel, and urged them to trust and obey God in all their generations, he did not leave them to conclude that God had just begun to care for them. If it had been true that the God who gave the law through Moses had overlooked Israel during their long stay in Egypt, they could not have trusted him for the ages to come. But Moses taught them that the God who was to guide them into Canaan had been with them from the beginning; had brought them out of Egypt; had delivered them from servitude under the Pharaohs; had been with their people all the time they had been in Egypt; had gone down with the patriarchs into Egypt; had guided their fortunes from the very beginning with Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees. Moses taught them that through the long, dark night of bondage God had them in his thoughts, in his plans, and in his love; that he was, in his wise and mighty and gracious providence, overruling all things to train them and build them up to be one of the great nations of the earth; that he loved them all the time, and had been working out good for them all the time. Believing in God in their past, they could trust him for

their future. What I so much want you to see is this: If you do not trust God for the future, you will come to nothing; if you fail to see God in your past history, your faith in him for the future will be unsteady and will fail you when most you need it.

WHAT PROVIDENCE WROUGHT.

I believe in a providence that neither forgets nor blunders nor fails, that is always good and kind. Your ancestors in Africa were savage, heathen, and idolaters. I was once kindly rebuked by one of the best of men for saying this to a crowd of colored people. I was surprised at him. My ancestors were also savage, heathen, and idolaters, only the English people had the gospel earlier than their African brethren. Once, just before the late war between the States, I saw a company of people just from Africa. They were a part of the last cargo of slaves brought from Africa to this country. They came over in the bark "Wanderer." They were very wretched-looking people. By them I gained some notion of the people whence they came. Compare the seven millions of the African race in this country with those poor wretches—more than half naked they were—ignorant of all that civilized and Christian life cares for, and you see what God has done for you. The difference between these people that came in the slave-ship "Wanderer," some of whom I looked at with shuddering horror, and our Southern colored people when emancipated shows what they had become in this country, though they had been in a state of slavery.

To you I say to-day—and if I could I would say it to every man, woman, and child of your race in the United States—first of all you must recognize God's

hand in your emancipation. It was God who gave you freedom. Not in the least degree would I lessen your feeling of gratitude and reverence toward that very remarkable and providential man, Abraham Lincoln, who took upon himself the stupendous responsibility of signing the "Emancipation Proclamation." You would be base indeed if you did not cherish his memory. And you should honor all those who toiled and suffered and died to set you free. But do not forget that God—the God of the whole earth, and the Father of all men—set you free.

Why do I speak of these things? Because I know that you will never make the right use of your freedom until you have a solemn and abiding conscience as to its obligations, responsibilities, and exceeding precious value. And I know that you will never have this conscience until you fully recognize God as the giver of your freedom. I know this because no man uses any gift aright until he sees God in it.

There is another matter of great importance if you are to work out your problem in harmony with the divine providences that led you to freedom. You must see what God did for you before you were free; what he, by his wise and gracious overruling providence, did for you while you were yet in slavery.

If any sensitive and excitable person of your race or mine imagines that in what I am about to say I am offering a defense for slavery, he is simply mistaken. If any one should go hence and say that in this speech I defended slavery, I will suppose that he did not understand me. I do not ask you to approve slavery. I do not approve it; none rejoice in your freedom more than I do, except yourselves. But I

do wonder at God's providence with the African race in this country. As surely as there is a God his hand has been upon you for good. And I want you to see this wonderful providence in your past history, that you may trust God forever.

What good things did the Negro race receive in this country by the blessing of God while in slavery? Many of you have looked at the dark side until you forget that there is a bright side. We may so hate an evil thing as to forget the God who can overrule it; who can "restrain the wrath of man," and make the "remainder of wrath to praise him." I now mention four great blessings that the African race in this country secured while in slavery—blessings of such sort that without them emancipation could not have come to them without destroying them; of such sort that without them you could not with freedom be free:

1. There were at the close of the war in this country not far from five millions of colored people who had the habit of *systematic labor*. They knew how to clear lands, to prepare soils, to sow seed—in a word, knew how to make crops. The savage lives on what he finds ready to hand; he hunts and fishes. But your people knew how to make crops. This is the foundation of material civilization.

2. The freed people knew something of *social and civil order, and of government by law expressing the will of the people*. Perhaps you did not understand these things as some of your good friends twenty years ago thought you understood them when they gave you the ballot. But you knew more about these things than all the millions of your kindred in Africa. Without

this knowledge you had, in the years following the war—of civil order, of law and government and obedience to legal authority—life would have been impossible in the Southern States, and your freedom would have cursed you and the whole nation.

3. *You knew the English language when your freedom came.* Not perfectly—who knows it perfectly?—but well enough for the missionary people who came South to help you to begin teaching your children their letters the day they first saw you. If you had known only the African tongue, and they had known only the English, they would have been as our missionaries who go to China; they must learn Chinese, or the people there must learn English, before they can understand one another. Your knowledge of the English language—the language of hope and liberty, the very best language in the world—made it possible to start schools all over the South for your children. But for this there would not be to-day of the African race in this country fully two millions who can at least read the New Testament. But for this there would not be about one million colored children now at school in the South; there would not be universities, colleges, institutes, and such like high grade schools, to say nothing of about sixteen thousand public schools taught by colored people.

4. I mention the best last. *The African people in the South while in slavery learned, by the blessing of God, more about the Christian religion than all their kindred in Africa have learned since the day that Jesus walked among men.* There were about one-half a million of your people in the Christian Churches of the South; and many of them were as good and holy people as

any who ever lived among men. More than any thing else it was the influence of the Christian religion that saved the South during the war from the horrors of San Domingo and Hayti. Lacking either of these four great blessings—heaven's gifts to the African race in this country, gifts that came to you while yet in slavery—emancipation would have been an impossibility; it would, in your total unreadiness for it, have been a destroying curse to you. As God overruled all that belonged to the stay of Israel in Egypt in wondrous ways, so that when the time was ripe for the exodus Israel was not yet a great people, but ready to begin to become a great people, so in wisdom and mercy and mighty power he so overruled all that belonged to African slavery in this country that after Appomattox your race was ready to enter upon the second chapter in its education and development. An angry colored man said to me once: "Nothing good could come out of slavery; I will not believe it." One might have said this to him in answer: "You are not a savage; your fathers were. You were a slave; there is a gracious, unforgetting God."

MORE SKILL FOR LARGER EARNINGS.

But before concluding this address I wish to say something of a new and most important feature this great educational movement is now taking on. The dedication of the "Adaline Smith Industrial Home" makes it appropriate to say something concerning "hand training" as a part of education.

From the beginning all who have at all understood the subject have recognized two things as necessary—head training and heart-training. A few people who are fanatical about their hobby of books think

head training so important that they forget heart training: a few others, equally fanatical about what they imagine to be religion, care so much for heart training as to despise book-learning. They are both wrong. Both kinds of training are necessary, and each helps the other. But good as they are, both together are not enough to make a great people of any race. There must be hand training as well as head training and heart training.

I do not mean ability to do just any sort of plain work—as plowing, hoeing, or carrying burdens only—though right training helps to do these things in a better way than doing them by main force; I mean training that gives skill in any sort of work that needs to be done. I mean learning, under competent instruction, how to use the ordinary tools of the more common trades, and to learn those things not as apprentices after leaving school, but to learn them under a teacher while at school. For boys I mean carpentry, blacksmithing, shoe-making, tin-work, painting, and such like. I mean also learning for the most part, as most educative and useful, the use of hand tools. For girls, sewing, first with the needle—working a machine comes easily after finger-work—cutting, fitting, even mending in its various branches; cooking food properly—not simply the use of that implement of destruction, the frying-pan—and such other arts as belong to housekeeping. For a time not a few good people feared this new movement lest it would interfere with book-learning. Not so; those who have had the most experience, and know what they speak of, are positive that hand training, so far from hindering other training, is helpful; it is good

for education in books and in good morals also. I could fill pages of this address with testimonials, but there is no time to-day.

It seems to me that this industrial movement comes on just at the right time after certain preparatory work had been done. The industrial feature is now established in most of the leading schools for colored people in the South; the white people will catch up after awhile, and introduce industrial training into their colleges; it is already in some of them. All over this country attention is being directed to this important matter. The time is coming, I believe, when it will be fixed in the educational system of the entire country. What I plead for is not some specialty for colored people. Industrial training is good for them because it is good for all people. If I had my way, no man or woman should have a diploma from any college who could not also have a well-deserved certificate of ability to make an honest living by some useful handicraft. Only a few statements can be given now, and I can only touch upon them.

HOW EDUCATION MAKES PEOPLE POOR.

The first effect of educating illiterate people is to make them unhappy, and the only cure is more and better education. An incidental but inevitable evil of education is this: It breeds wants faster than it creates ability to provide for them. A simple country plowboy can earn perhaps one hundred dollars a year and his food. Cheap clothing and plain fare content him. His hundred dollars will a little more than meet his absolute necessities. If this boy only goes to school awhile, and learns books only, why presently he will want two or three hundred dollars a year, and

he has not increased his earning capacity. He is not scholar enough to teach, and he is not "called" to preach. Besides, it won't do for all men who have been to school to teach or preach; they would starve. There must be somebody to support them.

This half-educated youth is poor indeed, with wants doubled and productive power diminished; for he is not now worth as much to plow as he was before going to school, and partly because he doesn't want to do such work as he was happy in once. Education that only makes men want more is a cruel thing. And it is an evil thing; it tempts both men and women to do wrong to get money. Many a half-taught man is in the chain-gang because he wanted twenty dollars a month, and had earning skill to command only ten.

Timid people may spare their fears; there will always be thousands who can do only the simplest sort of work. But there must be more people who can do work that requires skill. The many and great needs of the colored people enforce my argument as to their schools with tremendous power. Your people must have better homes. The one-room, ill-furnished, and badly-kept log cabin must give place to a better house. There is but one way: those who are to live in them must know how to build them or earn money to have them built. You, young men, who in the carpentry department of this college are learning the use of tools will be, if you do your duty, apostles of civilization by becoming among your people the builders of better homes. And you, young women, who are to learn home-keeping and all womanly arts should make these better houses homes indeed—not mere

shelters and sleeping-places. This is vital; the home is the foundation. It is the heart of life for a nation. There cannot be a great State or a great Church without homes. To have true homes there must be decent, if humble, houses; they must be kept decently though plainly. You must have skill as well as knowledge and grace. Without skill to do necessary things you cannot have the best knowledge, you cannot have the best religion.

THE THING MOST NEEDED.

You will let me add a word of exhortation in closing this address. If I had in one audience all the colored people of the South; if I could make them all hear me, and I had only five last minutes to talk to those for whom I have labored much and cared much, I should speak to them of the need of better family government. There are many needs; this is the greatest. When God selected Abraham to become the head of a great people there was a reason for the divine preference. No doubt there were men of his tribe as industrious, as skillful, as gifted in mere mental endowments; but Abraham was pre-eminent in the management and ordering of his house. We read in Genesis these most suggestive words: "For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him." No people can be great without wise, firm, orderly, loving, Christian family government. Nothing can substitute it. With good family government no people can fail to do well, can fail in winning worldly success or the favor of God.

OUR BROTHER IN BLACK.

Commencement-day in Claflin—10,000 People on an Educational Picnic—The Exercises—Dr. Atticus G. Haygood's Address.

[From a Staff Correspondent in *Charleston Courier-News*.]

[Orangeburg, S. C., May 23.]

IT takes a good many people to make ten thousand; but when all the resources of a great corporation like the South Carolina Railway are taxed, and when nearly every horse, mule, and vehicle in a populous and thriving county like Orangeburg is called into requisition to bring the crowd to a central point, the number is easily accounted for. At any rate fully ten thousand people, most of them colored, were gathered in the classic groves of Claflin University Park to-day, and a more orderly or decorous ten thousand was never, perhaps, seen gathered together.

The occasion was the Commencement exercises of the great university. I say great university advisedly. Governor Richardson, who was an honored guest of the institution, said himself that he had never seen any thing like it; and Dr. Haygood, whose interest in the education of the colored race is known throughout the country, said to this correspondent that it was the largest, most extensive, and best-managed institution of learning between the Potomac and the Rio Grande. Two hours spent in going over the institution—its farm, its industrial school, its dormitories,

and its class-rooms--will convince any one that here is

A MODEL INSTITUTION.

It is somewhat difficult to convey an idea of the size and importance, the completeness of detail, the discipline, the workings of an institution like Claflin in the necessarily-limited space of a simple newspaper article; and it is safe to say that comparatively few people in the State, even in Orangeburg, have any adequate idea of its immensity. No other term will describe the institution. Here are the cold facts and figures:

There are seventeen teachers, fourteen superintendents, and nine hundred and forty-six students in the institution. There are six courses of studies and ten industries embraced in its curriculum.

The college grounds occupy one of the highest points in the vicinity, and embrace a farm of over one hundred acres, all in the highest state of cultivation, farmed by the students alone. There are probably twenty buildings on the campus, which is an extensive park of forty acres, regularly laid off and shaded with red-oaks and other trees. Claflin University is, as Dr. Haygood says, the largest university between the Potomac and the Rio Grande, not even excepting the famous "Hampton University," and is the least expensive of any in the United States, a fact which everybody agrees is due to the wonderful executive and administrative ability of its President, Dr. Dunton.

EDUCATING THEMSELVES.

Of its nine hundred and forty-six students between four and five hundred live at the college; the others either board in the city or the surrounding country

or are day-students. Upward of five hundred of these actually pay for their own education in work. There is a mess-hall managed by the students themselves, where board can be had at \$3.40 per month. Rent, fuel, and lights cost \$2 per month. Books and washing are charged extra. The girls do their own washing, and are enabled to pay for their board and tuition by working at various industries, such as cooking, housekeeping, washing, etc. A student was pointed out who had paid for his education by simply attending to the knives and forks in the mess-hall, cleaning and scouring them. There are carpenter-shops, blacksmith-shops, tool-shops, machine-shops, where students can not only acquire a trade, but can at the same time earn enough to pay for their education. Work on the farm is conducted under the direction of a skilled agriculturist, and here a boy can not only learn the art of higher agriculture, but can also earn the money to pay for his education.

Governor Richardson told me that on one occasion he went through one of the girls' dormitories. The lady in charge of it, he said, took a snow-white towel and invited him to rub any part of any of the rooms with it. He did so, and, looking at the towel, found not the slightest tinge or stain upon it. The closets were all thrown open, and every thing was found in its place. Only those who have explored the mysteries of a woman's room can appreciate this order and cleanliness.

SOME INTERESTING DETAILS.

The history of the college is well known. It is named after the Hon. Lee Claflin, a wealthy Bostonian, who originated it and made a generous donation

to it. Then the State took hold of it; the Federal Government gave some land scrip, which somehow was not stolen by the Republican Legislature of 1868-76; and finally it was converted into a university by the Democratic Legislature, which makes an annual appropriation for its support. The John F. Slater trustees have been giving \$1,400 per annum to the university, but Dr. Haygood stated to-day that this appropriation has been increased this year to \$1,800, owing to the growth of the college and its excellent work.

There are nine industrial schools connected with the university, the mere mention of the names of which will show how great are its opportunities to do good. These are: (1) School of Agriculture; (2) School of Carpentry and Cabinet-making; (3) School of Printing; (4) School of Tailoring; (5) School of Shoe-making; (6) School of Painting and Graining; (7) School of Blacksmithing; (8) School of Merchandising; (9) School of Domestic Economy.

THE FARM PRODUCTS.

Here are the statistics of the farm for last year: Ninety acres under cultivation produced 1,500 bushels of corn, 600 bushels of sweet potatoes, 300 bushels of oats, 50 bushels cow-peas, 25 bushels grapes, 2,000 quarts of milk, besides all the meat and vegetables needed in the institution. The students are also organized into a battalion, two companies of cadets, and are carefully drilled once a week. There are various other departments connected with the institution, but space will not permit of a reference to them at this time.

DISCIPLINE.

On another occasion the Governor said that, while visiting the university, he was asked to say something to the students. He objected for the reason that he had only ten minutes to spare before the train arrived. Prof. Dunton told him that the time was sufficient. "In that ten minutes," said the Governor, "five hundred students had been assembled in the chapel, I had made a short address, and a hymn had been sung, and I walked over to the depot in time to take the train. I never saw such complete discipline in my life."

The people of Orangeburg are naturally proud of the institution. I asked a number of leading citizens if the presence of such a large number of students did not give trouble occasionally? The invariable answer was that a more orderly or better-behaved class of students could not be found in the country. Going through the streets of Orangeburg one would never suspect that one was passing through a university town, save, perhaps, from seeing the unusual number of boys and girls with books under their arms.

COMMENCEMENT-DAY.

The interest felt in the institution is evidenced by the crowds that always attend the Commencement exercises. To-day four trains on the South Carolina Railway brought upward of two thousand persons to the village. One of these, a special of thirteen cars from Charleston, brought about seven hundred; another, from Columbia and other stations, brought five hundred; and another, from the Augusta division, brought about five hundred. In addition to this a

special from Summerville and way stations brought several hundred. Most of the excursionists brought their baskets with them, and made a day of it. But the largest contingent came from the surrounding country. They came in wagons, carriages, buggies, and on horseback and muleback, and many on foot. They soon spread themselves around the park, and spent the day rambling around the college and the farm.

The Commencement exercises took place in the open air, there being no building in the place, and indeed hardly one in the State, that would hold the crowd. A platform had been erected under the shade of four majestic red-oaks for the graduates and the visitors. This seated about three hundred persons. On the stage were Governor Richardson, the Rev. Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, Dr. Dunton, the academic board, and the graduates.

The day's exercises were opened at 8:30 A.M. by the reading of the term standing of the students. At 11 A.M. the Commencement exercises proper took place. The Palmetto Regiment Band, from Columbia, furnished the music. There is room here only for printing the order of exercises, which was as follows: Salutatory, Charles C. Dogan, Spartanburg County; "Our Country," Walter S. Lott, Abbeville County; "History of Claflin," Alice M. Smith, Berkeley County; "Who Shall Lead Us?" James L. Cain, Orangeburg County; "Education Not Finished at Graduation," Julia V. Cooke, Greenville County; "Do Circumstances Make the Man?" Jacob Mooror, Orangeburg County; "Some Elements of Success," Thomas B. Levine, Berkeley County; "Industrial

Training," Robert C. Bates, Richland County; "Happiness," Robert L. Hickson, Kershaw County; "The Boy," Jessie E. Stoney, Aiken County; "Man's Greatness," M. H. Broyles, Anderson County; "Truths Awakened by a Dream," Marie L. Walker, Charleston County; "Essentials to the Success of the Negro," James W. Brown, Sumter County; award of diplomas; conferring of degrees; "Sphere of Woman," with valedictory, Henry Pearson, Abbeville County; benediction.

The essays were all well written and creditably delivered. There was a finish about many of them that evidenced careful thought and earnest study. The class song was written by Annie J. Prioleau, and was admirably sung.

THE GRADUATES.

The following is the list of the graduates:

Collegiate.—James W. Brown, A.B.; Henry Pearson, A.B.; M. H. Broyles, B.S.

Normal Classical Course.—Charles C. Dogan, Thomas G. Hazel, Robert L. Hickson, Middleton H. Lambright, Thomas B. Levine, Walker S. Lott, Asbury B. McTeer, Jacob Moorner, Annie J. Prioleau, William J. Sanders, Alice M. Smith, Jessie E. Stoney, John Calvin Tobias, Marie L. Walker, Levi Watson, James L. Cain.

Scientific Course.—Robert C. Bates, Margaret A. Bulkley, Julia V. Cook.

Honorary degrees were conferred as follows: George W. Miller, of Scranton, Pa., D.D.; Rev. C. E. Libby, President of Rust University, Holly Springs, Miss., D.D.; John F. Knowlton, professor of the Eastmann Conference Seminary at Buckport, Me., A.M.

Dr. Haygood's Address.

The ceremonies were interrupted about 2 o'clock for a short recess. At 4 o'clock they were resumed. On the stage were the graduating class, the President and Faculty of the University, and a number of prominent white and colored citizens, among whom were Governor Richardson, Senator J. F. Izlar, Dr. H. Baer, the Rev. Edward Muller, Messrs. W. L. Glaze, C. C. Leslie, T. M. Raysor, J. H. Dukes, S. R. Mellichamp, J. A. Hamilton, J. J. Wannamaker, Fred Schiffley, B. H. Moss, J. W. Bowman, and others. The following colored Methodist Episcopal clergymen were also seated upon the stage: Revs. E. C. Brown, presiding elder Orangeburg District; D. M. Minus, presiding elder Beaufort District; A. C. Dutton, presiding elder Charleston District; A. Middleton, J. W. Brown, J. G. Grice, J. McLeod, J. R. Townsend, L. Arthur, J. A. Sasportas, M. Stewart, A. Cooper, J. S. Mobley, B. M. Pegues, D. G. Johnson, S. S. Lawton, W. J. Smith, C. C. Robertson, T. Sims, C. C. Jacobs, E. B. Barnibas, S. Burns, S. Starling, J. N. Carson, S. S. Butler, E. Forest, B. G. Frederick, W. McWillie, R. W. Sinkler, L. L. Carson, of the A. M. E. Church.

After a few preliminary remarks by Prof. Dunton by way of introduction, Dr. Atticus G. Haygood delivered the address, of which the following is a summary:

THE EDUCATION OF A RACE.

Congratulations become this occasion. A noble purpose and a Christian impulse founded Claflin University. The Freedmen's Aid Society began the work of this institution with broad views, and the

State of South Carolina has, with rare wisdom, done a great work for the people in conjunction with the Society. In this union of effort to educate aright our colored fellow-citizens there is a perfect fitness; enlightened public policy and Christian benevolence have wisely joined hands in doing a great and necessary work. Next to the colored people the white people of South Carolina are most deeply concerned in the work of this institution; for we two peoples are here together, and here to stay.

Enlightened people understand what only the very dull do not comprehend—that the events that made free the African race in the Southern States of the Union conferred equal blessings upon the Caucasian race. It is hard to say which race has the greater occasion to bless the Providence that brought emancipation to us all.

To-day I wish to speak not of education simply, but of the education of a race. Such a work as has been wrought in the South in the education of a race was never undertaken or achieved in any other country. I do not believe it could have been so well done in any other country or among any other people. If there is any thing in human history more wonderful than the chapters that record the methods, progress, and results of the work of Providence and good men in the education of the Negro race in the South, I do not know where to find it.

The education of the African race in this country has not been accomplished during the last twenty-three years: it is a long story; the work began long ago.

If any of you misunderstand me to-day, it shall not

be my fault, although it may be my misfortune. As to slavery, that, thank God, is forever done with in civilized countries. Some day it will come to an end everywhere in the world. It cannot forever stay in a world that Christ has redeemed. Next to the African people in the South, the people of my race have the greatest reason to rejoice that slavery is put away from our institutions, for it wrought much evil to the white people of this country. I do not know but that we will be longest in outgrowing the evils incident to slavery.

What I am now to say is no defense of slavery or apology for it, but a grateful recognition of the wise and ever-gracious Providence that overruled what was in itself evil to bring blessings to millions of people. It is a very great misfortune—it may become a very great fault—for our colored people to look so long at the dark side of an institution they can only abhor as to forget the wonderful ways of the Father of us all, in doing them good in spite of what was bad in the conditions of life among us in the old days, before what some call the Rebellion, what others call the Confederate movement, what I call the Revolution, through which old things passed away and all things became new.

Only a few people among us ever saw a large company of native Africans. I once saw such a company; they were of those who came over on the last slaver, the bark "Wanderer." He who remembers what they were, and what the African race in the South was when the war was over and emancipation came, will understand, without tedious argument from me, what is meant and how much is meant when I speak

of the divine Providence that overruled African slavery in this country to lift up a whole people—to lay broad and deep the foundations of a civilization that will bless the whole world. We cannot understand this if we compare the African people of 1888 with the African people of 1865; we must compare those of 1865 with their ancestors in Africa—people like those who came over in the bark “Wanderer,” some of whom I looked on with amazement of soul and unspeakable pity. The difference measures what blessings God brought out of the evil thing we remember as slavery to nearly five millions of people.

I was once reproved by a man I honor and love for saying something like this to an audience of my colored fellow-citizens. I did not at first understand him; had he rightly understood the subject, he would not have reproved me. He told me: “Nobody likes to be reminded of disagreeable ancestors.” I laughed at him, and answered: “My ancestors were also heathen once. I am of mostly Welsh blood, and long ago the old Welsh were not only heathen, but very rough and unlovely savages.” The difference is that my ancestors were emancipated from heathenism and many kinds of slavery somewhat sooner. And I never know how much I have to be thankful for in the Christian civilization that, after long centuries of discipline and education, has come to my people—perhaps I should say to some of my people—until I think of what my ancestors were in the old Welsh mountains. And, as to my own part, I am sure I could not trust God for the future of my own race if I failed to recognize his wise and mighty and gracious dealings with my race in the past. Why, it can hardly be doubted that in

some lines of descent we have all had in the far-gone days for ancestors men who knew the meaning and the yoke of slavery.

It seems to me that it is a thing of the first importance to our colored fellow-citizens that they see clearly how wondrously and graciously God has dealt with them, not for twenty-three years only, but through past centuries and on both sides of the sea, for they cannot become a people worthy the world's regard—a great and good and happy people—without faith in God. No man can do his work well who has not faith in Providence; much less can an unbelieving race move forward to any higher achievements.

Suppose that Moses when he gave the law to Israel at Horeb had told them that the just God of heaven and earth had only begun to care for them that time he troubled the house of Pharaoh and brought them out of Egypt; that he had just then found them out and given them some place in his thoughts and plans? Think you Israel could have had faith in a God who had not thought of them or cared for them through all the long and weary days of Egyptian bondage? Nay, verily. There can be no faith for the future if there has been no God in the past.

Let us consider briefly what the African race in these States had gained by their coming to this country that their ancestors never had in Africa—that their kindred in Africa have not to-day. There is too much in this history to compress into a speech; we can only mention the greater blessings that the race had won in and by their long servitude, in spite of it, if you prefer to put it that way.

1. They knew the English language—the language

of hope and liberty—the very best language ever given to the human race. They did not know this glorious language perfectly—who does?—but they knew it so well that the new chapter in their education could begin the day they were set free. In Atlanta, Ga., in 1886, I heard one day the voices of children singing. I knew the voices and wondered what it could mean—there on the business streets in the week-time. I followed my ears into what had been a commissary warehouse for the Confederate soldiers. There were about two hundred children there, and two white ladies from somewhere in the North. It was the first Negro school I ever saw, and, as my way is, I made them a little speech. The two good women—not beautiful of face, but beautiful every other way—were there teaching these children their letters. It was because the children knew the English language that these good women could begin teaching them in a school the same day they came to them. It was because the four or five million of them knew the English language that wise and good people (some dreadful cranks, to the confusion of saints, now and then getting mixed up with them) could begin schools for Negro youth all over the South as soon as the war was over; that the training-schools and colleges could be established; that now, only twenty-three years after the work began, there are over one million Negro children at school in the South; that two million people of the African race can at least read. Could all this have been had the emancipated people known only the African dialects of their fathers? How little compared with such work has been done through three times twenty-three years in all Africa.

2. The Negroes in this country during slavery learned what on its material side is the beginning of all civilized life—how to make crops. They had the knowledge and the habit of systematic labor that makes possible the raising of crops, planting, cultivating the soil, harvesting, storing in houses. They know these things as all Africa does not know them.

3. They knew more of government, law, social and civil order, than the two hundred millions in Africa know to-day. They were, by their friends who then controlled affairs in this country, thought to know enough of such things to give them citizenship as well as freedom. The ballot followed freedom very closely—too closely, some thought. But without the knowledge I speak of citizenship would have been impossible. What could those who came on the bark “Wanderer” have done with citizenship the day they landed on the South Atlantic coast?

4. Above all, the African people in this country, when slavery came to its death, knew more of the Christian religion than all Africa knows to this day. Nearly five millions knew much of Christianity; a full half-million of them were in the communion of the Christian Churches in the South when the guns opened on Fort Sumter. And I know that among them were many as true and good men and women as ever trusted Him, the Christ, whose coming into this world was the beginning of the end of all slavery, of all ignorance, of all wrongs of every sort.

The African race in this country may trust God for its future, because he has been in their past. He will never forget them, I know, because he never did forget them. They have always had a place in his plans

and love, and they always will. If they will keep his commandments, he will make of them a great people, bringing blessings to all the world in the days to come.

But we should now think of what has been done since 1865. There was never such a state of things in the world before. At the end of a war that shook the world nearly five millions who had been slaves were made free. Presently they were made citizens in a government by the people. Compared to what their ancestors were, they were enlightened and civilized people. Considering the fearful responsibilities of citizenship that came with freedom, they were but very poorly prepared for the new life into which they had been flung by the tidal waves of a tremendous revolution. The problem that confronted wise and good people was an appalling one. The Southern whites who had owned property were desperately poor. Their own educational system was wrecked; they could not educate their own children. They were not in sympathy with the movement to educate the children of their former slaves. May be they ought to have been in sympathy with this movement; but it is certain that no people in their circumstances would have been. The millennium has not yet come. I am not defending the indifference of my people at the close of the war to the education of the colored people; I am only speaking of human nature. Just people recognize facts whether they approve them or not; and they will try to put themselves in the places of those they judge. The attitude of the Southern white people toward Negro education at the close of the war was what the attitude of any other people

similarly placed would have been. This much is due to candor; it is also due to human nature. Only God knows whether any other people, in the circumstances of Southern people, would have borne themselves toward an emancipated people otherwise than the Southern people bore themselves; certainly with no other people has the trial been made.

But, men and women of the South, let us not forget that this is 1888; it is not 1865. We have had time largely to adjust ourselves to new conditions. We have had time to get on our feet, and we have done it. We have had time to think calmly and justly, to consider what the facts are and what our duties are. And we must think calmly and justly, and we must do right. It is not a question of sentiment, but of duty; duty to the Negro, to ourselves, to God. If we go on always as most of us have gone on since 1865, God will not hold us guiltless. The days of our infirmity—when we were in chaos, in anger, and despair—kind Heaven overlooked. “The days of this ignorance God winked at,” but now commandeth us to look, with clear, honest eyes, straight at the facts of our life—to see what the truth is and to do what the right is. As to all this subject there is no safe thinking that leaves out the gospel. We must shape our thoughts and plans by the Sermon on the Mount, or we will sin a sin that is unto death.

After the war there was nothing possible but that the North, which was rich and strong and ready, should enter upon the stupendous task of teaching the freed people. The first help must come from the North, or it could not come at all. And with a courage, liberality, and devotion absolutely unmatched in

Christian history the North did begin this work. I honor the North for what was done, for what is now being done. I am glad to live in a country where such Christian philanthropy is possible. But this I say, also: The North was doubly bound to do this work. No other could, and, as the case was, no other would. And it was the North that threw upon the emancipated people so soon—as most Northern people now think, too soon—the responsibilities and the perils of citizenship. If the North did wisely, great effort to educate the colored people could alone justify their wisdom; if unwisely, it was the only way to reduce the peril and remedy a blunder.

The North felt all this, and rushed boldly into the breach. It was grandly done, and the results justify it all—all the millions of money, and, what is infinitely more costly, all the precious lives that have been used up in this work, so new, so strange, so difficult. The results are so great and glorious that they compensate humanity for the vast outlay of brain and spirit, with all the ostracism and isolation and nameless trials that dry up the very juices of life.

There is no time now to dwell upon results; I can only allude to them. We have a million Negro children at school; two millions of the African race can read; there are full sixteen thousand common schools taught by men and women of African blood. Did I not truly say that there is no such chapter in the history of education?

Marvelous are the ways of Providence with these African people. All told, fully fifty million dollars has gone into the work of their education since 1865. It is true that for a long time we of the Southern

white people had little personal interest in this work, or sympathy for those who were struggling in it; it is true that individuals did not contribute money or personal service. But Providence has saved us in part from the reproach of history. Of the fifty millions that have gone into the education of the Negroes since 1865 more than half has been Southern money. It costs more to run the sixteen thousand public schools supplied by State money than all the colleges supported by Northern gifts. And nearly all the States have expended large sums in the higher education of the colored people. So it comes to pass that both Northern and Southern money has gone into this work. There has not been too much; there has not been enough from either source. Both sections ought to do more. The Negroes have made more progress in elementary and other education during these twenty-three years than any other illiterate people in the world. They ought to have made progress; no other people ever had so much done for them. And they have justified the philanthropy and public policy that made the expenditure.

But we have now come to a most critical period in the education of the colored people. If they are equal to the test they must now meet, they need fear nothing for the future. The first result of educating illiterate people is to make them unhappy. This is true of the Negroes, because it is true of all men. It cannot be helped, though it is a condition to be feared. The Negroes of the South are now entering upon this new trial.

It is easy to understand what I here set forth. At first education breeds wants faster than it develops

capacity for meeting them. A plowboy, very ignorant, earns, perhaps, \$100 a year. He has little, but he is not poor, since his earnings are equal to his real wants. Poverty is a condition that depends upon the relation between what wants demand and labor can supply. After three years at school our plowboy will want \$300 a year, with, perhaps, less capacity—certainly less disposition—to earn \$100 at the tail of the plow than when he was whistling along the furrow.

What then? Leave him and all like him in dense ignorance? This will never do. Teach him more perfectly, more wisely. Develop his earning capacity, that he may himself, in honest ways, meet his greater wants. This is common sense; it is history, it is gospel. Not a few thoughtful people have recognized what I now speak of: that if something else be not brought into the education of the colored people other than those influences that only increase their wants, we have now reached the danger line for them, to say nothing of others. All educated, or half-educated, colored people cannot teach school. Thank Heaven! all who have been to school are not called to preach. Timid people may dismiss their fears as to the mere common labor of unskilled hands; there is enough of that, if only those who can do nothing else will do the plain, cheap work. There cannot be a real scarcity of common labor in any country where wages are as low as with us. Overeducation is a very remote danger for either race in the South; of education that lacks productive power there is already too much for white as well as colored people. Some will count all this teaching heresy; I commend them to the study of the hard, cold facts of the case.

There must now come into the education of our colored people something that will increase their productive capacity up to the point of satisfying their increasing wants. To save them from discontent is the least reason for this new element in their training; it is necessary for their morals, as for the morals of all people similarly circumstanced. Honesty and virtue are vitally related to the cause I plead to-day. And not because they are colored people, but as people it is true for us all. If they are most in need at this point, it is because their education has been more recently begun. It is equally true as to tens of thousands of white people. It is a crying evil of our times. It is a trouble keenly felt throughout the civilized world: education breeds wants faster than it develops capacity to supply them.

It was to help make more productive in every way the education of the Negroes that John F. Slater, of Norwich, Conn., gave a round million of dollars. He wished it used to forward "the Christian education of the lately-emancipated people and their descendants in the South." He was a man of noble character. Clear-brained, large-hearted, he wished to help those who most needed help, and to help them so that after a time they should no more need help from any. He had meditated the dangers of freedom without knowledge; he had no faith in knowledge without morals, and he told his trustees to use his money to forward "the Christian education of the African people in the South." Mr. Slater knew also that head and heart training together are not enough to make a people; there must be hand training also, and this friendly helper of men desired his gift to be

so used as to advance this threefold education—head, heart, and hand training.

He might with his million have built a great school for his monument, and called it after his own name; but he took the nobler way of hiding his name in the diffusion of his gifts. He would build no school—he would help to make better the work of schools that others built. There was to be no sectarian narrowness; his agent was to know neither Church nor State; an enlightened Christian patriotism inspired his thought. And according to his wishes the “John F. Slater Fund” is used to aid in the head, heart, and hand training of Negro youth in Christian schools. The Congress of the nation did well to thank Mr. Slater for the good deed he wrought. He has deserved well of his people—perhaps most of all of the white people of the South.

The subject I discuss to-day is familiar to me; this field, at least, I know. I say to you all that there is progress everywhere in the cause I plead for. There is more teaching, better teaching, better results. The Negro’s education has fewer enemies and more friends than ever before. Informed people do not argue the possibility of the Negro’s education now; good people do not oppose it; they are thinking now of the best methods for securing the best results. I know (and I am very sorry it is so) that this is not a work that lies near the heart of most Southern white people, but it is nearer than ever before. It will never be so far away from our sympathies again.

It is well for all concerned that this tree—this educational and Christian work—should take deep root in our soil. We sometimes plant young trees in poor

ground. That they may begin to grow we fill the hole we dig with richer earth—mold from the woods and the rich soil from fence-corners. This will do to begin with; but if this be all, the young tree will die in a few summers, or linger with impoverished life. If it grow to be a great and glorious tree, the soil round about it must be enriched.

As to these great training-schools like Claflin University, friends from the North first dug the holes for the transplanted saplings. They dug them large and deep, and have tried hard to fill them with good soil brought from afar. Gold has gone into it, and knowledge, and culture; more precious far, many noble lives of glorious men and women who have loved God and humanity. Their very souls have been taken up by the roots of this growing tree. The good God has known all this, though we, not knowing what we did, have for the most part stood afar off. O may the Christ forgive us our lack of love! But if this tree should wither and die, then must we all suffer greatest loss. All around it must be friendly soil. The old way cannot go on forever. But what can we do? The very best thing that we white people of the South can do for the cause of Negro education at this time is this: Consider it, study its facts, find out what it really is.

Some who come from other States to do this work have been more happy than others in making friends for their cause among us of the South. If many have failed, let us remember that it was hard to win sympathy from us; if it was all new to us, it was also new to them. But this sort of thing—this lack of sympathy and this isolation—cannot, must not go on

forever. History will blush to record our hardness of heart if generations can come and go, and the workers in this field—heroic men and devoted men and women—and we home-dwellers of the South should always be so far apart in a work that concerns us all; that, next to the African race itself, concerns the white people—the old Southern stock of white people—more than any other people under the sun.

NEGLECTING AND NEGLECTED.

[International Sunday-school Convention at Louisville, Ky.,
June 12, 1884.]

MAN is justified by faith, and faith is justified by works. "Faith without works is dead, being alone"—that is, it is no faith at all. It were as reasonable to talk of dead life as dead faith. The life that is in faith must manifest itself; it is "known by its fruits." Christian faith is not a mere doctrine about God, a notion about the "plan of salvation," a view of the character of Jesus Christ, a creed in mere words. It is a living power in man's soul; it is a hand that takes hold on God. As fire warms, as light shines, as life grows, so faith as surely works: in him who believes, growth; in society, usefulness. It is not simply that growth and good works show that there is faith; their absence shows that faith is not.

If a man finds that in himself there is no growth, in his life no service, what must he conclude? That he is without faith, without Christ, without God. What a man really believes he tries to realize; what he most believes he most tries to realize. What a man most believes inspires his ideal of life, prompts his efforts, and determines the line of his activities. If a man makes greater effort to get money than to please God, it is because he believes in money more than in what he calls God—that is, his real god is money. A man's highest belief is his god; some gods

are beastly and devilish. Of some men St. Paul says: "Whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame."

WHY GOD MADE MEN.

Some say of the God manifested in Jesus Christ, that he made man and this whole universe "for his own glory." It is in what are called catechisms. But Jesus Christ did not say this. What the words mean nobody knows. God did not create worlds to show what he could do. A true man does not work on a plane so low. All God's works praise him, but he did not create the universe to be sung to. Why does a good man wish to be the father of children? Why does a good woman wish to be the mother of children? To love them. Napoleon, when he divorced Josephine, desired a son "for his own glory." Good men do not approve him. God made all things in love and for the sake of love—a love that finds its satisfaction in the good of its object. God's love is in creation, as surely as in providence or redemption. "God is love." Jesus shows us the Father; he is the "express image" of the Father. Did Jesus Christ come into the world "for his own glory?"

HOW MEN "LIVE TO GOD'S GLORY."

Words, by misuse and mere repetition without thinking, come at last to take on meanings that do not belong to them and to express ideas that are false. Thus the phrase "living to the glory of God," as describing religion, has come to signify to not a few something else than truly filling the place of a man, of doing all the work of a man, of being in all respects a man. "The end of God's work in a man is the man." He most lives to God's glory who best does the work

of a man; that is, who is most Christ-like. Singing hymns, saying prayers, keeping days, observing ordinances, celebrating rites, without growth in character, without service in life, are nothing. Mere praise and mere prayer, being alone, are pretense and delusion

ONLY TO KEEP OUT OF HELL.

He who thinks that a man may "live to the glory of God" without doing good to his fellow-men is as far from the truth as he who imagines that the chief end of religion is to keep man out of hell. This notion of religion seems to be wide-spread and deeply rooted, and it naturally comes to pass that just enough religion is wanted to accomplish this keeping out of hell. More than enough would be superfluous and inconvenient. Such notions do "cut the nerve" of true religion. Alas for such unworthy imaginings and desires! He who only wants enough religion to keep himself out of hell will not keep himself out; nay, such a man now begins to be in hell. If this were the true end of religion, then getting it with one's dying breath would be altogether as good as getting it in the beginning of life; its highest enjoyment would be the feeling that when we go out of this world we will escape torture in the next.

In such a view the only motive for seeking God now grows out of the danger of delay. But the end of religion is to save men from sin, to bring them to God, to make them like God; wherefore man needs religion now, needs it always and in every thing, needs it in its fullness. Its highest joy is fellowship with God, and the highest proof of this fellowship is in doing good to men. Small wisdom showed he who,

having received his "talent," wrapped it in a napkin and hid it in the earth; but it is the religion of those who dream of having a religion that they only keep against their day of accounts for themselves.

CANNOT BE A CHRISTIAN.

If we are to get our ideas of religion from the words and life of Jesus Christ, not substituting his words by the speculations of men; if we are to gauge our lives by his tests, not measuring ourselves by ourselves or by the conventional standards that communities make for themselves—what are we to conclude, if we find in our hearts no constant interest in the welfare of others, no abiding desire to do them good, no Christ-like love for them; if we find in our lives no honest and earnest effort to do the good we wish for others, no brotherly and helpful service to our fellow-man? He who is without desire to do good to others cannot be a Christian, whatever else he is. And he who desires to do good will try to do good.

NOT A PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY.

There was for a long time in the Church—there is still, in many minds—the notion that doing good, in a Christian sense, is a professional specialty—the work of preachers. We are growing out of these childish notions, but we have not yet "put away childish things." We are still "seeing through a glass darkly." Some day, when the light has truly become our light, we will understand that God's hand is upon every one of his children; that each man is under as great obligation to do the good he can do as any other man can be, because, in every case, the obligation is perfect.

THE NEGLECTING CLASS.

It is not uncharitable to say that the greater number of Church people fail to recognize their own obligations. In a vague way they believe that the Church is a good thing—else they would not be in it. They think that its work should be carried on by other people, assumed to be under some special obligations to do good in the world. When a call is made for workers they would join in the exhortation if they felt under obligation to do any thing. But they do not feel that they have any real concern with the matter.

They think—if they think—that they are “exempts.” But there are no exempts. They are idlers; they make up that huge incubus that rests on the heart of the Church—the neglecting class. They have not taken to heart that word of Christ, “He that is not for us is against us, and he that gathereth not with us scattereth abroad;” nor that other word in the last day, “Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me.”

A BAD DOCTRINE OF A DIVINE CALL.

Illustrations and proofs are easy. Few, if any, of those Church people who do none of its work would be willing for any recognized Church work to be left undone. Prayer-meetings and Sunday-schools they approve; they would even vote against formally renouncing them; but they will attend neither; they will help neither, except by the patronage of their approval. The sick must be nursed; the poor must be visited and helped; home mission-work, as it is called, must be carried on, but by the pastor—is he not paid to do this sort of thing?—and by those whose duty it

is—certain good sort of men and women who would do wrong to neglect the good work. Are they not called to be useful members of society and to do the religious drudgery of the Church? Great is the blindness of those who hold such a doctrine of a divine call for other people as to conclude that they themselves have no call whatever.

IT IS THE MINORITY

That carries on the work of the world. What is true of society at large is particularly true in the Church—the minority does its work; also pays its bills. That is a rare Church the half of whose membership takes a share in its work. Those who have not considered the matter will be surprised when they make a study of the facts.

THE HALF CAN'T DO THE WHOLE.

This address does not deal in statistics; it is easy to get at the important facts in any particular congregation. Here are, say, five hundred members. How many are workers? Compare the Sunday-school roll, the prayer-meeting company with the church register. Compare the register and the treasurer's book.

Every man has capacity to do all that he ought to do; so has every Church. But if only one-half do the work of the Church, there is loss great and sore. One-half cannot do the work of the other; it can do its own work, and no more. There is not only loss in results, in harvests gathered; the neglecters have lost in their own lives the divinest blessings of life—the holy joy that comes of doing good, and the growth in Christ-likeness of character that is alone for those who are loving co-workers with their Lord in saving men.

CARRYING THE DEAD-WEIGHTS.

This does not complete the statement; the workers not only lack the help of the neglecters and idlers, who are themselves dwarfed into spiritual impotence; the workers have to carry the dead-weight of the do-nothings. There is no man great enough to help the Church by the mere patronage that goes with his name; there is no man small enough to be carried without loss, if he be only on the register of names. Mere camp-followers have defeated brave armies. They not only consume rations; they get in the way. It is not unreasonable to believe that the dead-weight of the neglecting class hinders the work of the Church more than the active antagonism of open enemies obstructs it. In addition, the dead-weights are the fault-finders and the "disturbers of Israel." As to these matters let any pastor, let any worker give judgment.

OFFERING PRAYER AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR SERVICE.

Not a few of the neglecters imagine that they meet their obligations by good wishes and prayer. God takes the will for the deed when the deed cannot be wrought, for in such case the will is the deed, but never elsewise; for there is no real will where there is not honest effort to do or earnest desire to do, were there possibility of doing. The patronizing of Christ's cause by the expression of pious sentiments, where it is offered as a substitute for service, is a hollow sham; it is a "whited sepulcher;" in its very root it is hypocrisy.

Tongue work is easy to not a few. This may be very good where heart work inspires it and hand work

goes with it, but tongue work alone is "as sounding brass." The Master makes it very clear that where his disciples can render personal service, but will not, they cannot meet their obligations by money, or by prayer, or by both. Where personal service or money service—both or either being possible—are refused there can be no true prayer. Where there can be no personal service in active work, or money service in giving, there may be mighty prayer service. But a whole Church on its knees that neither works nor gives would be a sorry sight; when a working and giving Church pours out its heart in prayer both heaven and earth are moved.

Why should a man who, being able both to serve and pay, or able to do either, does neither, offer prayer to God? Is there need of argument to convince the All-wise, of persuasions to enlist and animate the interest of the loving Father of men? Let the question be considered and answered by those who know: Is not prayer for a cause that we will not help a blasphemous impertinence? Let the question be put in other form: Can we truly pray when we will not help?

GIFTS THAT CURSE GIVER AND RECEIVER.

In our times the very methods that are employed to do good tend to hinder right thinking on the duty of personal service. We have societies for all things. Organization is the characteristic of all our methods. The Church as well as the city has its "committees on the poor." The Church takes a collection; the city levies a tax. "Cases" are referred to the committees.

It has come about that there is no longer any per-

sonal relation between the givers and receivers. The committee comes between. Personal love drops out of giving. Personal gratitude drops out of receiving. The giver satisfies his conscience by his contribution or his tax, counting, it may be, exemption from personal service cheap at such a price; but he has none of the joys that come through personal relations with the needy and through the fellowship of suffering. The receiver satisfies his need by the stipend from the "committee;" but he does not know the giver, he does not look into his eyes, he does not hear his voice, he does not grasp his hand, he does not feel the beat of a brother's heart. So receiving, he is pauperized in spirit as well as in estate. Too often his heart is hardened, and the chasm between the richer and the poorer is made wider by the very means that are used to fill it. It is a law of the kingdom of heaven that gifts without love curse both the giver and the receiver.

A BITTER CRY.

It is worthy the consideration of the wise that never in the history of the world was so much money expended for the relief of the poor, and that never was there so deep a gulf between the rich and poor as to brotherhood. There never was among the well to do so much suspicion and fear of what are called the "dangerous classes;" there was never so much bitterness of heart among the poor and distressed. It is not in the mere title of a book; it is not in the mere skill of a writer; it is the sad and tragic fact that gives force to the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London." It is not a London cry only; it is the cry of nearly half the human race. It were well to heed that cry.

“He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.” In every mob that burns and slays are men, women, and children who have lived by the bounty of others.

LACK OF BROTHERHOOD.

One cannot speak of the “neglecting classes” without speaking of the “neglected classes” and of “neglect.” The neglected class is that vast company of human beings who are in sore need of brotherhood and the helpful service brotherhood and nothing else can bring to them. It would not be edifying to make a list of Christian people’s neglect. A single statement will suffice: The greatest lack, the sorest neglect of our times is the lack, the neglect of personal, helpful, brotherly service. Such service cannot be rendered vicariously through a committee; as to the love that should belong to giving and receiving, and make the gift holy and a blessing to both the giver and receiver, committees are for the most part non-conductors. In our Christian testimony and service we should, above all things, make human brotherhood a living fact close by, and not a splendid doctrine afar off. When Christians learn more perfectly what God’s fatherhood means, and what Christ’s brotherhood means, then they can show what human brotherhood is.

No doubt there must be organization, but fearful is the state of that Church in which organization is necessary because individuals will not do their own work. Unless there is in addition to organization also direct, personal, brotherly service, relief of the poor by societies working through committees will wither the hearts of men and make them bitter. For organizations are as soulless as corporations; they are at best

good machines; they have not life in themselves. Organizations are not persons; only persons can do persons' work.

The illustration is taken from the work done or attempted for the relief of the poor, but the principle is the same. If we are to be saved from the sin of neglect, if we are to show ourselves to be truly of Christ's company, there must be direct, personal service in doing for those who need what we can bestow.

"SLUMMING."

A new word is coming into use. It is slang, but good enough for the thing it represents. The example of the Prince of Wales and other notables threatens to create a new social vice; they call it "slumming." It is a sort of visiting the cellars and garrets of the wretched that must set the poor souls on fire with pure human indignation—a fire not to be quenched by scattering pennies and pounds amongst them—somewhat as visitors are said to feed the pigeons of St. Michael in Venice. Thomas Guthrie was willing to leave his sweet country parish, provided they would give him Gray Friars in Edinburgh. He did no "slumming." Helen Chalmers gave her royal womanhood, rich in its Christly compassion, to the dens and hovels of the Scotch capital, but she did no "slumming." Such as Guthrie and Helen Chalmers do not go down among the poor to stare at them, to quiz them, to investigate them, to write about them; but to help them in the name and spirit of the Nazarene carpenter, the divine-human worker with his hands, who was always a poor man, who loved men as men, who never blushed for his poor kin, who received sinners, who visited publicans, who

preached the good news to penitent harlots, and who denounced only hypocrites and shams. We may be sure that his fearful "woes" are still for those who play at doing good in his name.

TAKING HOLD WITH ONE'S OWN HANDS.

Some there are who will send supplies to great hospitals; some will tell the nurses what their duties are; some will publish their views about hygiene and sanitary science; some will visit the wards with an air of *dilettante* pity, and talk patronizingly to the sufferers. A few will take hold, will watch at night, will smooth pillows with their own hands, will cleanse gangrened wounds, in their measure, just as Jesus Christ would do. What the few do in hospitals the many who bear the name of Christ should do in the great world—take hold with their own hands, cleanse its sores and soothe its pains.

THE CLASS WITHOUT WELCOME.

Let them answer who have knowledge of the matter: What chance have the very poor—the indecent and the unworthy poor, if you please; the outcasts of your society, the "publicans and sinners and harlots" of our time—what chance have these in what we call our best churches? The finer the church the colder their welcome—the less their chance.

I never saw a fine church where such people had welcome. But they were welcomed by Jesus Christ when they came to his preaching. It was the respectables, the aristocrats, the Pharisees, the priests, the hypocrites—tithing anise, building tombs to dead prophets, and robbing living widows, cheating servants and oppressing the poor—that did not give the poor souls welcome.

Judged by our social standard, Jesus was a man of low tastes, was no "gentleman." He did not feel ashamed when a penitent woman—a common sinner of the town she had been—washed his feet with her tears and kissed them in her adoring gratitude, while he reclined at the rich man's table. His eyes were glistening with divine compassion, and his words were sweet and heavenly with brotherly love. It was Simon who was ashamed, not of his cold-blooded hypocrisy, but to see the woman in his house. Such a man would have been less ashamed to have seen her impenitent—in her own house.

THRONGED WITH LOST LAMBS.

Building mission chapels is good in its way; "ragged Sunday-schools" may be a sad necessity; but it were better for well-to-do saints to get near enough to Jesus Christ to be glad to see their fine churches thronged with his lost lambs—gathered from garrets, cellars, dens, and all desert-places whither they have wandered from their Good Shepherd. Better for both classes, but better for the rich than for the poor, for they need—although they know it not—the poor more than the poor need them.

Some will say in their hearts: "But Jesus Christ, being what he was, could do for outcast men and women what we cannot do." That is true, unless we were more like him; that is true, we being what we are. If we will ask our inmost souls, "What would Jesus do?" we will know what we ought to do—what he commands and expects us to do. What is Christ's Church for if it is not to do his work in his own way?

WOULD JESUS SCORN FALLEN WOMEN?

Does Jesus Christ care not if such women as she

had been who came into Simon's house perish? Would he treat them as we treat them? Would he open his parlors to unchaste men, the seducers of women, and lock not only his doors but his very heart against their victims? Test the justice of your social ethics in the treatment of fallen women by the words and spirit of Jesus. You dare not. As to fallen women men are cruel, but women are relentless. With their scorn they damn before they die such as might be saved. Not long ago, during a revival service in a fine city church I know, one of these poor lost ones was by accident discovered standing near a window in the darkness, sobbing as if her heart would break. What would the Simons and their wives have said had she dared to go inside? She did not dare; she knew better. There was no rule against it, but an atmosphere.

Of the African slave-trade David Livingstone said: "It is the open sore of the world." So it was—one of them. But here is a greater: More women in Christian lands die every year in shame and despair than the accursed man-stealers take out of Africa. And the Church takes its sacraments, sings its doxologies, listens to grand music—trained singers rendering pathetically the "Prodigal Son"—and lets them die and be damned. And others will be damned with them who now despise them.

O pitiful Christ, touch the hearts of thy disciples, that they may help those who are dying in the great darkness and despair of shame and sin! The Church must take hold of this problem. It never has taken hold of it; it has never dared. It has taken hold of slavery and drunkenness, but before this problem it

stands appalled. If it will not, may God let such a Church die, and out of the grave of it raise up a true Church of his Son.

Jesus, by his great love, is drawing all men unto him. Many who bear his name, by pride without shame, and contempt without pity, are driving away from him men, women, and little children, for whom he died. What would he do, coming now among these false friends—he who once drove the money-changers and cattle-traders out of his Father's house?

WE FAIL IN LOVE TO MAN,

In real brotherhood. This is the greatest of our many great neglects. Our love to God is truly measured by our love to men. As saith the apostle: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If we love God truly, we will be real brothers to our fellow-men; and Christian brotherhood, when once it becomes the real characteristic of the Church, will win the whole race of men to the love of the Redeemer.

"RESCUE THE PERISHING."*

I WAS glad, Christian people, to get a letter inviting me to this service. I count it a privilege to stand in this place and make a plea for those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death. And I am the more glad to be here when I see in this large crowd, on so inclement a day, a pledge of real interest in the movement some of your good people, without reference to denominational relations, have undertaken.

It has been announced that I would deliver a lecture at this hour. I have no lecture; I am not here to direct, to advise about methods of doing a most important and most difficult work; I am here only to plead for the perishing. It has fallen to my lot to address many audiences upon many occasions, but I have never spoken about any thing that lay closer to my heart or about which I desired more earnestly to

*This plea for the "Perishing" was made in the Opera-house, Augusta, Ga., Sunday afternoon, February 28, 1886. Dr. H. H. Steiner presided, and Rev. Dr. W. M. Adams, of the Presbyterian Church, offered prayer. C. G. Goodrich, Esq., Hon. J. C. C. Black, and Rev. Dr. W. A. Candler, then pastor of St. John's Methodist Church, who had originated the movement, took the collection. My daughter Mamie sung "Rescue the Perishing." For a copy of the speech I am indebted to the reporter of the *Chronicle*. The subscription at the meeting amounted to nearly \$2,000. The Home has now (September, 1888) been in operation more than two years, and is doing much good.

A. G. H.

say just, right, and wise things. Help me now, with your best prayers and sympathies, for the sake of those—our sisters, although they are cast out from us—who are in as sad case as is possible to human experience.

We have fallen upon a phrase which gives us a rare analysis, a correct definition, and a portentous prophecy. There are many wrongs that sorely need righting, there are many evils that prey upon the body politic, but when we use the phrase “the social evil” all men know what we mean. There are many evils in society, but the phrase I have quoted from our common speech leaves nobody in doubt as to what is meant. When we hear the words we do not think of intemperance or ordinary crimes—we mean one evil; and these need no descriptive words to make our meaning definite to others. Our use of the phrase is proof that it is recognized, and yet not as an incidental or occasional trouble among us, but as an evil so common and so great that by general consent the phrase “the social evil” is set apart in conventional speech to the single use of describing this and not some other evil. The phrase indicates its sad and fearful pre-eminence. Both history and observation justify our use of the words. It is a blood-poison, subtle, concealed, diffused, deadly.

The worst difficulty in meeting the evil is our despair. For twenty years I have been talking privately with judicious people of the duty of humane—not to say Christian—men and women in this sad case. Never yet have I found one man or woman who doubted as to what is duty, but all are filled with despair. They say, “True, but what can be done?” as

if the only answer must be: "Nothing can be done." If there can be a state of mind more confusing and misleading than this—a state of mind that more tends to moral chaos—I know not what it is. Put in other words, it is Christian and other civilized society saying to itself: "There are solemn duties that can't be performed." This cannot be true while God rules. The conclusion is false—utterly, absolutely. There is in it not one particle of truth. It is a cloak for weakness, cowardice, and sinful neglect; it is not a discharge from obligation. We cannot accept such a conclusion and continue to think rationally upon moral questions. Because I believe in God I believe in humanity; and for men, in God's world, whatever ought to be done can be done.

Good people, I cannot accept this doctrine of despair when the hearts of men and women are being crushed out of them. If we will only put our best thoughts, and not our weakest, into action, we will begin to solve our problem. In its darkest phases we can yet find room for hope, if we follow our noblest and not our ignoble sentiments.

There are few in this audience, I suppose, who know much of the facts of this sad and desperate case. But we know enough to startle us out of our comfortable enjoyment of our religion; to fill our eyes with tears, our hearts with pain, our lips with prayers, and our lives with Christian effort to stay the plague that is in our social life, and to save the souls that are ready to perish.

The under-ground world is a world of mystery; now and then an earthquake startles us into knowledge of its pent-up force. Sometimes we feel the earth rock

under our feet; or the volcano bursts forth, and we tremble at a power we do not know. We need not look down the crater for evidence; lava-floods pour down the mountain-sides, and clouds of ashes darken the skies. So now and then that social under-world, in which fallen women are burning up in Moloch fires, flashes into our startled souls a lurid, volcanic flame, so that we cannot always forget it.

If there were earthquakes every day, we would grow as careless as the people of Calabria—forgetting that the fire that sometimes bursts out in fury is always down there in the heart of the earth. "The social evil" does not appall us because we are used to it. Day after day we read in the morning papers the tragic ending of some young life—somebody's darling dead, lying in blood and shame. There is a line or two in the account that flashes a picture upon our brains. We see the little clenched hand, still holding the smoking pistol or clutching the empty laudanum-vial; or the body of some unknown girl—once fair to look upon, now stark and cold—drawn out of the muddy river, and taken away to the morgue, toward which, at night, will creep not one, but many mothers, to see if the dead girl is her child. "Ah!" says one, "but that is a tale of the great cities." Yes, and of small ones just as often, if we consider the difference in population. Sometimes a village, sometimes a quiet country neighborhood looks on the sad ending of such a ruined life.

We need not go below the surface; we know enough. Our police courts and city prisons will convince any well-to-do, comfortable souls who doubt. The facts of society justify that phrase we have agreed upon to

describe an evil we would forget if we could—an evil that curses our life, and of which we despair—"the social evil."

Who in this city can be a human being—to say nothing of a Christian—and feel no interest in the cause that brought this meeting together? Who is there who has not, whether he will or not, a concern in this matter? You, children of grace—men and women of the holy Church—are you so far removed from the volcanic regions of social life as not to think of these things? You may fling about your loved ones a cordon of fire, but there are influences of evil in the world that conspire against heaven and earth to overthrow your idol. There are none so exalted or so safe as to feel no interest in the cause we plead here to-day. "What are these abandoned women to me?" says one, sitting in white apparel, while I speak and plead for her sisters. "Nay," she says, with indignant eyes, "not my sisters." Yes, madam, your sisters; these abandoned women are your sisters. Grim Thomas Carlyle has a story that fits your case. A poor woman in Edinburgh could get no recognition of sisterhood from any. So she took typhus fever, died, and gave it to seventeen other human beings in her alley; and thus she got recognition of sisterhood. Leave out all the personal element, if you will; these perishing ones are indeed our sisters; God and Christ make us all close kin. We may have given them little reason to think so, but the fact remains—they are our sisters.

If there was not in Augusta, or in any part of our country, a single woman needing help and pity, and there should come to us the news of but one afar off

in a distant land, the call of the good to rescue her should stir this whole city. Those whom Christ Jesus has redeemed cannot be indifferent to any human misery anywhere.

English-speaking people waited two winters for Greeley's return from his arctic voyage, and when he came not the civilized world could not rest and leave the brave captain and his crew to perish. England joined the United States in fitting out an expedition to bring back these gallant men. Now and then a tumbling arch-way falls and buries a company of miners under-ground, and rescue parties are organized and dig night and day to save the poor men, or at least to bring their dead bodies out of the pit for decent burial. And this zeal for humanity is right, and good people honor it. But thousands of our sisters perish in the gloom and ice of our social outer darkness; and comfortable saints, thanking God that they are not as they, go on their ways, leaving them to die. Do they so much as pray for them?

David Livingstone said: “The African slave-trade is the open sore of the world.” It was one of them. The world has more than one open sore; “the social evil” is one of them. The papers are yet talking of the London editor jailed for his method of dealing with lordly libertines in the great city. He may deserve criticism; but what of a society that jails this Editor Stead and opens drawing-rooms to the devils who make a play and a business of young girls' honor?

I venture to say that under the poisonous influences of this dark “social evil” more women—women in Christian nations—have gone down to dishonor and death than the wicked slave-hunters ever lost or

killed in Africa or in crossing the hot seas. The civilized world could not rest until that slave-trade sore was healed. At least it is trying to heal it—sending out armies when there is need. The Christian world is right about the slave-trade and slavery; the slave-trade and slavery cannot abide in a world that Christian nations rule over.

Will the Christian world rest while this “social evil” sore defiles and destroys the fair body of our Christian civilization? Only in one way—by closing its eyes to the dreadful facts. But there can be no true peace in willful blindness. We have tried that long enough.

The most difficult task the Christian world has to toil over in this bad case is with itself—to think justly and to feel rightly. Our thoughts on the whole subject are full of confusion and paradox. As we measure goodness by our conventional yard-sticks, the greatest difficulty is with the best men, unless it be with the best women. It is difficult, indeed, to speak right words on such a subject, but speak we must. I must say that we are unfair, unjust, cruel, and uncandid in our judgments upon fallen women.

Let us face the question and answer it: Can we justify, by sound reason and common human justice (I say nothing of Christian justice now), our different mental, moral, and social attitudes toward men and women in the matter of impurity? What we regret, disapprove, and condone in the man we abhor, scorn, and damn in the woman. I am not unfamiliar with the specious pleas by which we seek to justify our essential injustice, but they cannot vindicate us or justify our judgments. Can rational human be-

ings feel satisfied with opinions and customs that reason utterly refuses to approve? Can Christian people yield absolute obedience to sentiments and customs that Jesus Christ absolutely rejects and denounces?

I do not wish people to think lightly of unchastity in woman; her standard a meeting like this will not lower. Nor do I wish society to treat men with the relentless ostracism it heaps on women who have sinned. I dare not give myself to dogmatism about such dreadful things, but I do doubt whether in God's pure sight our cruel scorn of the woman whose sin we have found out is not a viler thing than her sin. Is there not hypocrisy at the bottom of our thinking on this whole subject? We scorn the woman, and plead our love of purity as our justification. Is it not a monstrous sham and falsehood? For we take the prodigal son to our arms; and leave the prodigal daughter, though she sob her soul away in vain repentings, to die in the swine-pens. Does our love of purity account for the difference?

It is said that our exalted honor of pure womanhood impels us to this horror and scorn of the fallen. May be we deceive ourselves; I believe we do. If not, how low we place men when either we do not expect them to be pure, or think it is of small consequence that they are impure, by our laws and social customs winking at the man's offense as a venial indiscretion! Our treatment of sinning women is not an expression of our conception of the nobleness of purity, of the deep dishonor of impurity, else we would not make this a small offense in men.

A people's statute laws fairly indicate their ideas

of comparative wrongs. What are we to say for ourselves when our statutes place an ordinary thief in the chain-gang and pass by lightly, or with a trifling fine, the crime that robs virtue of its crown and wrecks a whole house?

We give women who have sinned no chance. So far as our conduct can determine their destiny, we damn them before they die.

I did not know these things about our social ways until the first year of my ministry. In 1860 I was a city missionary, and one day I was told that one of these women lay dead, and that I was wanted to conduct the funeral services. As I stood by the open coffin in which the dead woman lay, surrounded by her companions in shame, I said such words of hope and promise as I could, and when I asked those to kneel down who wished for a better life they all knelt about the coffin as I prayed with and for them. We were all weeping together. But though I was only the pastor of a poor little mission Church, these women were afraid to come there in the day-time.

Soon after the wreck of Atlanta I re-opened, under Conference appointment, old Trinity Church; and one Sunday afternoon, among others, two women— young girls—knelt at the altar for prayer. After the service one of the chief men of my official board said to me, as if I had done a wrong thing to kneel down by them and pray for them, "Don't let that occur again. Those two young women are bad women"— using the worst word he could. He never forgave my answer. I told him he was Simon the Pharisee, who scorned the penitent woman who kissed the feet of Jesus. What right had such as he to throw a

stone at the poor girls? For such uncharity he should have been among the penitents.

I knew a surgeon—a generous gentleman, not a member of the Church—who was treating one of these unfortunate women who was dangerously ill. When she began to recover he had her removed to a sort of hospital—a charitable institution in the city where he lived. When the lady directors found out what kind of woman she was they demanded her removal, and said they would resign if such as she was should be sent there again. There was not a man he could have sent there, reeking with sin and fresh from dens of infamy, that that institution would not have welcomed to tender nursing and care. Women never forgive their sisters; men are cruel, women are relentless.

On the cars between Louisville and Cincinnati I met a gentleman who had a sad story to tell me. He had been to Memphis to look for a young girl, betrayed by a Pittsburg doctor, carried to Memphis, and deserted in the streets. The villain returned to his practice; his victim was turned loose, helpless, in a strange city. Where did my friend look for her? He knew the only refuge she could find. The only doors from which she would not be turned away were those that shut in such as she. No "Home" was there to give her shelter; no "House of Refuge," made holy by pure women's love. Storm-tossed, there was but one harbor for her—the mouth of hell.

Walking the streets of Charleston one day with a minister—a man I love and honor—as we came to a certain corner he stopped me and said: "Just at that spot a woman of the demi-monde was killed by the

man who had lived with her. She had money at one time, and had often given it to him; indeed, she had supported him. But on this day, as he came out of the bar-room, flushed with drink, and met her there, she had no money to give in response to his demands. Drawing his pistol, he shot her down like a dog in the street." The minister added: "Public sympathy for the woman was so great that the doctor's statement of her condition was published each day in the *News and Courier* until her death."

"Was the interest great enough for any pastor to go to see her?" I asked.

"Not that I know of," he said; and he was a minister.

"Was the interest great enough for any Christian woman to go to see her dying there?" I asked.

"Not that I know of," he replied.

What must Jesus Christ think of a social system that made such cruel neglect a possibility?

About four years ago, in a Southern city, a great meeting was in progress. The church—a fine church too, strong in numbers and in wealth—was thronged night after night. One night one of these women was found outside, leaning close to the window, drinking in every word she could hear, and sobbing bitterly. As she was approached she shrunk away in the darkness.

Why did she not go inside? Her betrayer might have done so, had the whole house known him for what he was. Had he been inside, had he gone forward for prayer, the Amen benches would have welcomed him, and they would have rejoiced over him—this son that was lost and was found.

But she—what of her? Why was she not inside? There was no law against it—no rule of the Church. Why was she not inside? You know why. Don't tell me she would have been welcome had they known her for what she was. And she knew why. There was an atmosphere chill as death to her.

There are many who think it useless to try to do any thing for these women. I am sure I don't know how they would set about proving the truth of their opinion. By a sort of *a priori* argument, we must suppose; certainly not by experience. Who have tried? and how have they tried?

For one, I repudiate utterly the doctrine that there are any wretched and vile people in this world so far gone that trying in Christ's spirit and way to do them good is useless. It is a most horribly false doctrine. Moral life is not dead in women who have sinned. An illustration on this point may be better than argument.

Condemn my taste if you will, but I am grateful that I am the brother of a woman who was not afraid, and who did try, to help these people. Before going as a missionary to China she worked in a mission-school in the old barracks in Atlanta. I never saw in a Southern city more wretchedness packed into narrow spaces. There came to my sister's class in the Sunday-school one day a young woman about twenty-five years old, bringing a five-year-old boy with her. Nothing was known of them, and she was supposed to be a widow.

By and by this woman found the Saviour. She was soundly converted, and she asked my sister, Miss Laura, to come to see her at her room. She wanted

to talk to her. She told my sister that she was not what her neighbors supposed; that she was not a widow; that she had never been married. The father of her boy was dead, but she had never been his wife. She said: "Miss Laura, I want to be a Christian, but I cannot be a Christian and deceive you. I cannot live a lie." And this woman, when she gave the pastor her hand, gave her real name, and for truth's sake and Christ's sake bore her shame.

Was there ever a truer, nobler thing done in this world? There was the battle of the hot gates for her, but she won her Thermopylæ. Did you ever know man or woman in any station to show the supremacy of conscience more magnificently?

More than their own sin does the scorn of the good crush the hope of those for whom I plead to-day. The worst thing in their way is our pitiless feeling toward them; the worst of all the lack of charity and sympathy in the Church itself. Many of them, no doubt, think lightly of our religion. No wonder; those who have the "oracles of God" in their keeping and the custody of holy things, as they suppose, give them small chance or none. There is nothing that chills or frost-bites like finding out that the man who ought to have the sentiments of a saint has the heart of a Pharisee.

We ought to feel toward these women as Christ felt. "Ah!" you say, "but that standard is too high." It is the standard he gave us; have you so much as tried to feel as he felt toward them?

See Jesus, in Simon's house, with the penitent Magdalen bathing his feet with her tears and wiping them with the hairs of her head! Two persons are

looking on this woman; their attitudes, thoughts, and feelings toward her are given to us. Those of one are Christ's; those of the other are Simon's. Which are ours?

You remember that wonderful story of St. John's of the woman who was brought to Jesus for judgment. Look on that group; from one only can you learn any worthy lesson. The accusers tell their story; the poor girl, abashed and terrified, hangs her head in utter humiliation. Jesus, the perfection of modesty, cannot look them in the face, talking as they did. In simple shame and embarrassment he hides his face, stooping down and marking on the ground with his finger. "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone at her." This was his word to them. See them slink away; the men who cared nothing for violated law, who were pitiless, who were only seeking occasion of complaint and reproach against Jesus. He did not flinch. He spoke words of comfort and kind counsel to the poor penitent, and sent her away with his blessing.

But the question comes back: "What can we do?" The matter of method I do not now discuss. Indeed, the matter of method is of secondary importance. We are not capable of finding a method, or of using it if some inspired man should find it for us, until we have learned to think rationally and feel Christianly. The first thing to do is to think clearly and rightly, to think in a Christian way. We must adjust our thoughts and ways to the teachings of Jesus Christ, and not to social conventionalism. Christian people cannot do Christ's work without, in a measure at least, thinking his thoughts. Ask yourselves to-day: "What

would Jesus say to us? What would be his thoughts, his feeling? How would he do?" If you ask these questions, seeking truly an answer, you will surely get it.

When we have Christian thoughts on this whole subject our difficulties will begin to vanish. When we feel as we ought toward these neediest of wretched people we will find that we can do something. Love is fruitful of inventions.

The right-thinking, right-feeling people of Augusta are not all here this evening, but they are represented here in this unsectarian meeting to help forward one of the noblest of movements for Christ and humanity. There are good men and women in this city who cannot rest and let things go on as heretofore. They feel that they must do something.

We propose organized effort—men and women working together. We intend to secure a home for those who want to escape from their desert of sin. It takes money, thank God! If money could do no good like this, there would be no honor for it in this world.

But there is money enough, and more than enough. There are diamonds that will flash about the sacramental altar next Sunday in this city worth enough to build the house some good women here are begging for that they may try to save some of their sisters in this city.

God give grace to the good people of this fair city of Augusta to carry out the work they have undertaken! Above all, may Christian women, who owe all things to Christ, learn of him how to do this difficult and holy work! and may their example and

success inspire the good in other cities to emulate their zeal!

If we have truly the mind that was in Christ, we can do even this work for him. If there is any work undertaken in his name that he will surely bless, it is a work of mercy like this.



THE CONVICT QUESTION.

(From the *Atlanta Constitution*.)

[Delivered before the Prison Reform Congress, in the presence of Ex-president Hayes and other distinguished personages, at Atlanta, Ga., November 7, 1886.]

“There is one Lawgiver.” (Jas. iv. 12.)

“Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.” (Rom. xiii. 1.)

“Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.” (1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.)

THE Bible conception of government is the true one, and therefore the only one that consists with the highest interests of the human race. The germ truth in the Bible doctrine of government is this: All rightful authority—that is, all authority that may demand of the conscience obedience—is derived from God. As there is one Creator there is “one Lawgiver.” God is the source of all existence, and his will is the foundation of all law and authority. For the securement of man’s well-being God ordains government; that is the thing, not the form. “There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God.” God leaves it to the good sense of men to determine the form of government. But the people are not the source of authority, and the citizen owes obedience to the ruler, because every true ruler of every grade represents in his office not mere-

ly the will of the people, as giving form to the constitution and law of the State, but that which underlies it and gives it all the authority and power it has, the divine law and constitution of the universe. The apostle exhorts citizens to obey rulers as representative of the divine authority.

Whoever administers a just law by legitimate authority represents, in the sphere of his office, God. Authority is derived from the people only in this, that it is the office of the people to determine the form of it. The right to do this depends upon its being so done as to conserve the ends God designs government to secure.

The punishment of crime is a part of the business of human government only because it is necessary to punish crime in order to accomplish the ends of government. The right of the people to punish crime by methods prescribed by law is perfect; people living under organized government have absolutely no right to punish any offender without law; to punish without law is the grossest violation of law—it is a crime. Lynch-law, wherever it exists, is savagery, and it is the evidence of an undeveloped or of a degenerated social order.

WHY DO WE PUNISH CRIMINALS?

Let a sensible and just man ask himself the question. In his own thoughts he will find a threefold answer: 1. The safety of society. For grave offenses criminals are locked up or put to death to protect the law-abiding people. 2. Criminals are punished to deter them from repeating their evil deeds and to warn others not to imitate their example. 3. In a wise and good government a real, though an inci-

dental, design in punishment that is not capital is the criminal's reformation. His reformation is sought for two reasons: First, as a guarantee to society that he will not continue attacks upon its order and peace; secondly, to make him a better man. The second consideration, though a noble one, is perhaps least considered.

The subject of prison reform, as to any comprehensive view, is new to most people. It is in itself a complicated and difficult subject. There are few subjects concerning which it is more difficult to formulate a doctrine that will be acceptable even to the few who have given it serious reflection. No doctrine that is worth thinking of will be acceptable to those who have not considered it—that is, to the majority of men. The most serious obstacle in the way of prison reform is the prevalent sentiment of despair of prison reform. Society is silent and inactive in the presence of many recognized evils because society has no faith; they are accepted as inevitable, and endured because they are believed to be beyond cure. But in a world that God governs no notion can be more false or harmful; in God's world what ought to be done can be done. The longer it may take to remedy a recognized evil, to right an admitted wrong, the sooner will wise men set about it; the harder the task the more zealously good men will do their duty in trying to accomplish it.

As to prison reform—I might say more comprehensively the matter of dealing with the criminal classes—the first duty of all is to consider the subject. To do this intelligently and usefully we must ascertain the facts. Mere theory-builders cannot investigate

prison reform or any other great subject. We cannot go beyond the facts and know where we are going; we cannot stop short of the facts and expect a safe arrival at any desirable place in our reasoning.

It is not my office at this time to set the facts in order in the matter of prison reform; the Congress, in so far as it knows them, may do that. Let it suffice for me to say that few people think on the subject; few know any thing about it; perhaps it is only the minority that care to know. It may be questioned whether there is a single county jail in the country that could not furnish facts that would startle its closest neighbors. If in any State the Legislature should appoint a competent commission to visit, inspect, and report upon the county jails and city prisons, who can doubt that a truthful report would not astonish and dismay by the revelations it would make?

NO MAUDLIN SENTIMENT.

Prison reform has nothing in common with the maudlin sentimentalism that makes martyrs out of condemned murderers, heroes out of convicted felons. It does not send women to the cells of the justly condemned with rare delicacies and costly flowers; it is ashamed of those who do such things. It does not sign petitions for executive clemency simply because somebody presents them. It judges those who do such things with indiscriminating sensibility to be foolish and weak people who have small comprehension of the true principles of social order. Prison reform believes in the enforcement of law; it insists upon the proper punishment of criminals as necessary to the security of society and the promotion of

virtue, and as best every way for criminals themselves.

Underlying and vitally related to prison reform are certain simple and obvious truths that hardly need statement, much less argument. They would not if most people considered these matters at all. Some things I now point out that any prison reform that promises progress and that has in its heart the conditions of success objects to, and that it will ultimately do away with. Of the issue of the cause for which prison reform as a movement of our time stands we may be assured; whatever is wrong must be, can be, will be righted.

HEALTH OF PRISONERS.

1. No Government has a moral right unnecessarily to put the bodily health of its prisoners in jeopardy. When a Government locks a man up it is sacredly bound to make the hygienic conditions of his incarceration as good for him as prison life allows. There can be no good excuse for doing less than this. When a prison is so filthy, so crowded, so ill-ventilated, so hot, so cold, so ill-fed, or so cruelly governed as to make the breeding of disease in its cells a certainty sin lies at the door. No Government that has a right to imprison men is so poor that it cannot provide reasonably for their health. The best-conducted prison might be expected to show a higher death-rate than the average of free life. When the prison death-rate is exceptionally large it is the evidence of negligence or oppression. The Government that neglects or oppresses its prisoners is guilty of an unpardonable sin. It makes punishment persecution, and justice vengeance.

A CHANCE TO BECOME BETTER.

2. No just Government will utterly deprive prisoners of opportunity for mental and moral improvement. The right to punish crime does not involve the right to reduce the prisoners to mental or moral imbecility.

NORMAL SCHOOL OF VICE.

3. No good Government will allow conditions of prison life that make increasing immorality a certainty as the normal and inevitable result of these conditions. For example: Government in the name of law violates law and commits a crime against God and man when it incarcerates mere youths and hardened, accomplished villains in common prisons. In such a case the Government supports and conducts a normal school of vice. It has often come to pass that what was ostensibly designed to protect society against criminals has turned loose upon society men graduated in the arts of crime—good people by taxation paying the tuition of those who learned in prison how to prey upon them upon their release.

For example again: Government that allows the herding of men and women together is not only criminal, but it is barbarous. It promotes vice, and taxes the virtuous for the expense account. An illegitimate birth in a jail or penitentiary is an appalling moral monstrosity in a civilized and Christian country.

FARMING OUT CONVICTS.

4. No Government, for any consideration—least of all a money consideration—has right of any sort to transfer to its citizens its divine trust of enforcing law by punishing its violation. That the punishment of crime may be undertaken as a legitimate

business enterprise is unthinkable. When a Government transfers to individual citizens the execution of the sentences of criminal courts for money it is venal. It dishonors its subjects and betrays the trust committed to it by the almighty Ruler. If it does such a thing to avoid the trouble and burden of caring for its criminals, it is weak and cowardly.

“Farming out” the infliction of the penalties of law, morally and politically, falls below the old Roman and the modern Turkish practice of “farming out the taxes.” It is no better than selling the poor to the lowest bidder. History has made record of the atrocities of the system of farming out the taxes. It debauched government. It made the tax-gatherers corrupt, rapacious, cruel. It defrauded and oppressed their miserable victims.

The convict lease system would never have existed, would never have been thought of, but for money considerations. If it was devised for the sake of the hire of the convicts, or to save the Government the expense of caring for criminals, in either view it was a money consideration. Nobody ever voted for such a system because it was thought to be better for convicts, or because it was thought to be safer for society.

No Government can be true to itself and adopt a plan of keeping criminals simply for the sake of making or saving money. Good and wise legislation never yet existed where money considerations were paramount.

EVIL FRUITS.

Aside from the principle—and it is radical and vital—that the convict lease system is out of har-

mony with the fitness of things and the true nature of government, it proves its depravity by its fruits.

1. It corrupts legislation. While legislators are men, and money is money, the convict lease system will corrupt legislation. The country does not lack instances.

2. It involves (it is humiliating to speak of it) this: It fixes in certain citizens, who are lessees, a money interest in crime and its conviction. And the longer the term of imprisonment the greater the profit to the lessee.

3. It greatly lessens the educative force of law, and this is one of the best results of the enforcement of law. It brings the lessee between the prisoner and the Government, not as an officer of the Government, but as one who has a personal money interest and no other interest in the prisoner's service. The lessee is simply a hirer of labor, and has no interest in the prisoner or relation to him except what is involved in "profit and loss." He cannot, while lessee and mere hirer of labor, stand toward the prisoner as an officer of the Government, the representative of the majesty of law, the agent of the divine government of the world. The lessee does not recognize any such relation; the prisoner does not see him in any such attitude; society does not consider in him any such character. He is simply one who buys labor as cheaply as he can, and sells its products at the highest price he can command. This is business; but the punishment of crime is not a matter of business. Small must be and is the educative value of a system under such inspirations and with such environments.

It has been said that the lessee is essentially an officer of the Government. In no sense, more than the ancient publican who had paid the Government for the privilege of making all he could out of the taxes of a province, is he a representative of the Government.

Under such a system justice and moral reform would be miracles not to be expected this side of the millennium.

We ought to take another look at this system. The lessee has a personal money interest in the prisoner; the longer his term, if he be also young and strong, the greater his interest. It might very naturally occur that the prisoner who most deserved the abridgment of his penalty might have the least chance of mediation, for executive clemency—it would pay to keep him. It might very naturally occur that the prisoner least deserving and most dangerous to society might receive the greatest helps toward liberty, whether in the direction of pardon or opportunity to escape. What I have mentioned as tendencies of the system are inevitable; they cease to be inevitable when human nature is no longer responsive to appeals of self-interest.

THIS EVIL CAN'T BE MADE GOOD.

It may be said that the State supervises its lessees, and that they are at last only agents of the State. Not infrequently the Government does the best it can with a bad law, but some methods are so essentially bad that no painstaking can make them good. When the Government transfers to citizens the responsibility of its criminal administration a breach is made in the very foundation principles. That

breach cannot be healed by visitations and inspections by State officers. Convicts scattered here and there—on farms, in brick-yards, in shops, in mines, in building railroads—cannot receive from the Government that care it owes its prisoners, that it also owes society. If they were all under one roof, the fatal difficulty remains. The lessee—rather his employee and subordinate (not apt to be a fit representative of the Government)—stands closer to the prisoner than any real officer of the Government can. In the nature of things such supervision as would be worthy the dignity and conscience of the Government is out of the question; for it is irregular, inconstant, infrequent, and the opportunities for concealing facts and for procuring silence are too many and too great.

Farming out condemned criminals for money or other considerations is as anomalous in an organized Government as the hiring out of Pinkerton's private army, at so much per day, to do the work that belongs to the municipal police, to the sheriff and his posse, or, in the event of the inability of these officers to preserve order and to protect property and life, the work of the Chief Executive in calling out the militia to enforce the law. No Government has the right, and no Government can afford, to make private citizens not officers of the Government its prison-keepers or its police. The preservation of civil order is not a legitimate work of private enterprise, and the custody and employment of prisoners cannot be in a good Government a legitimate form of private business.

It is no part of my purpose in this discourse to propose a plan of prison-keeping. It is the work of

statesmanship to do this. It is a task worthy the best minds the country can afford. It were easier to solve the problems that belong to the currency and the tariff. This much, however, is very clear to me: No man can work out the problem of prison-keeping wisely and successfully who makes the getting or the saving of money a chief factor in his equation.

THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE.

If we are to have prison reform of any worthy and permanent sort, there must be as the prime condition of success a healthy and vigorous public sentiment on the subject. The public conscience must be educated. There can be no good conscience on the subject until people know the facts; in the absence of the light conscience is blind. As I understand it, the National Prison Congress meets, and the Association back of it exists for the most part to arouse public attention to evils that should be remedied, and to better ways that may be pursued. Georgia and its capital city are to be congratulated that the meeting for 1886 is held here and now. It is well placed and well timed.

The sort of education needful in this case cannot be accomplished in a day; if it be done in a generation, it will be a remarkable achievement. It is a great and difficult work. The reform will move slowly, because it must move the masses. Such subjects are not in the thoughts of the people. No great moral reform—and this is a moral—as well as a social and civil reform—ever yet went on to reformation without agitation. Agitation that leads to permanent results must have solid facts for its motive power. This Congress is a great exchange where facts

and the conclusions they demand may be set in order, compared, digested, and made useful.

The men and women who are giving time and thought and labor to this cause may take courage. In the long run the average citizen will do right; in the long run the majority will vote for righteousness; those who labor in the love of God and humanity to put away the evil heritage from the times of savagery that still lingers in civilized life, and to bring in better thoughts and customs, may wait the issue with serene confidence; for they can depend on the people and they can trust in God.

An association that carefully collects and collates important facts does the pioneer work of reform in the sphere of life we are considering. It is no new thing that pioneers must find their way before they can build highways. No point can be worse taken than the common answer to the statement of existing evils. It is a question—half doubt and half sneer—rank with pessimism in the very heart of it: "What will you substitute for it?" The question is in order when men really wish for better things. When it is asked in this spirit the answer is not far off. No conscientious man can be at rest when there are evils known to him that can be remedied. The doctor who only finds out the disease that is about to kill his patient does a good work, even if he should not know how to cure him. His knowledge may lead to the discovery of prevention or cure. As to prison-keeping there does not exist, I suppose, in any country the best possible method; but until we have done the best we can do we cannot keep conscience and leave recognized evils alone.

REFORM OUTSIDE THE PRISONS.

Plans of reform which begin with the prison will not bring any notable reform. True prison reform cannot exist without a better sense of righteousness among the people, a truer sense of justice in courts and juries and among the people, who so largely and as it seems so inevitably influence their verdicts and decrees. It must come to pass that justice must be justice. This cannot be by mere changes in the statute law; it must come through the consciences of the people. The men of law and order must have the assurance that the courts will protect society by enforcing promptly and certainly the laws of the land. And the men of law and order must sustain the courts in doing their duty. But back of the courts there must be educational work. There must be among the people a better sense of essential righteousness. There must be more equity in justice. There must be a justice blind and deaf to favoritism as to men or classes of men. There must be a justice that will not and cannot sentence a poor wretch who steals a coat or a piece of bacon for a longer term than the rich man who breaks a bank and robs a thousand people; that will not and cannot send a poor man without friends or money to prison for a longer term than a rich man with both money and friends who has committed the same offense; that will not and cannot send a Negro or Chinaman to prison for a longer term than it will send a white man for the same offense. Among the people there needs to be developed a better conscience as to the sanctity of an oath and the sacred majesty and divine authority of law that knows no conditions of society and no distinctions of race. With such a conscience paramount

even among the leaders of opinion prison reform will be easy.

With this better sense of justice and better conscience there will come into our statutes and courts a more rational and righteous grading of offenses and penalties—a grading more in harmony with the essential principles of good morals. We may gauge civilization fairly well by the practice of communities in fixing penalties for the violation of law. When a horse-thief goes to prison for a long term of years, and a seducer of virtue and the spoiler of homes is dismissed with a paltry fine, we have matter for humiliating reflections. If our laws set greater store by property than by morals, we ourselves need reform.

The fact that this is the close of the nineteenth Christian century increases the responsibility of all who sit in the chief places of authority, and of all who can influence public opinion toward better things in the prison system of the country. It is worse now to rest under wrongs that can be righted than it would have been during the Dark Ages. Responsibility is measured by light and opportunity.

BLOOD POISON.

Prison reform will come. What is now thought of and talked of and prayed for will come to blessed realization. Not to-day, nor to-morrow, but it will come. Let it be our effort to hasten the coming of a better day. It is not alone right feeling toward the prisoner in his cell or at his tasks that should influence us. Society cannot itself be in health while it tolerates admitted evils that it can put away. The circumstances and conditions of our time and coun-

try add emphasis to every true and good word that may be spoken on this subject. We will soon be one hundred millions of people of diverse traditions and nationalities. Prison reform is more vitally connected with the future welfare of our country than many persons suppose. We are to consider not merely the thousands who are in prison and who are sent to prison year after year, but also the thousands that come out of prison every year and pass into the life of the people. Who knows what blood poison is introduced into that body politic by this current of criminal life—intensified rather than diluted by prison methods—that is daily finding its way from dungeons into the heart of the nation?

FEWER CRIMINALS.

There is another view of the vital importance to society of prison reform. Our prison methods connect vitally law and government, and the people's notion of law and government. In this country both law and government depend upon the people's notion of them. If we may live to see a prison reform that shall bring our court procedures and our prison system nearer to righteousness and wisdom—that is, nearer to Christianity—then we shall live to see the day when there will be fewer criminals, when the people in their daily life are nearer harmony with law, order, good government, and the gospel of Jesus Christ. May God speed the day!

OUR DANGER AND OUR DEFENSE.

At a recent session of the North Georgia Conference the Committee on Temperance, Rev. A. G. Haygood, D.D., Chairman, submitted, and the Conference adopted, the strong report printed below. It may well be accepted by the Church as her answer to the pleadings of the saloon power. Our readers will not begrudge the space we give to this powerful paper, but will find it exceedingly interesting reading. *Nashville Christian Advocate, December, 1887.*

THE country is to be congratulated upon the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States touching the right of the State Governments to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors. Heretofore, as all informed people know, the Supreme Court has asserted the principle underlying its recent deliverance upon the subject; but the recent decision, affirming the right of the State to abolish the liquor-traffic without liability for damages, just as it may abate any other nuisance or hurtful trade, takes away the last vestige of defense to the traffic, on the ground of so-called inalienable or constitutional rights. This last decision makes the position of the prohibitionists as strong as the supreme law, interpreted by our highest court, can make it. Hereafter those who know the law, unless they intend to deceive the people, will not assert that prohibition violates any sort of natural or other rights recognized by the Constitution and in harmony with the genius of our institutions. Certainly no lawyer who re-

spects himself or his profession will, in the face of the decision of the Supreme Court, hereafter argue the national and constitutional rights of the liquor traffic.

THE COMMON SENSE OF IT.

The Supreme Court needs no backing from prohibitionists, yet it is a happy circumstance that its late decision commends itself to the common sense of laymen as well as to the judicial opinions of men learned in the law. Men do not need the permission of Government to pursue the ordinary avocations of life. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the farmer—these do not need “license” to work; it is not a legal, it is a natural right; it is inalienable because God gave it. But, in our own as in every civilized country, the dealer in intoxicants must first secure permission of the Government before he can sell; the license of the law differences this from natural rights; it is artificial; it is the gift not of natural but of human law. The decision of the Supreme Court amounts to this: Society has a divine right to protect itself, and whatever it may give that it may withhold or withdraw.

TESTIMONY.

In a report on temperance and prohibition it is relevant to allude to the evils of drunkenness and the perils of the drink habit, for these evils and these perils make prohibition necessary. The liquor people and their defenders are wont to sneer at the arguments of prohibitionists as the ravings of fanaticism, and, unfortunately, some who favor prohibition shrink under the accusation. Let them take courage; they are in good company, and, as to the opinions

they hold as to the evils of drunkenness, they are in a very large majority.

At this place it is well enough to introduce the verdicts of some who cannot be put aside as fanatics. Such quotations might easily fill a large volume; attention is now asked to only a few.

The *London Times* says: "The use of strong drink produces more idleness, crime, want, and misery than all other causes put together."

Governor Dix, of New York, vetoing a local option bill, takes occasion to say: "Intemperance is the undoubted cause of four-fifths of the pauperism, crime, and domestic misery of the State."

With Governor Dix agree all judges, magistrates, keepers of prisons, directors of hospitals, superintendents of asylums for the insane, and all others who have to do with the crimes and the miseries of men.

Charles Buxton, member of the British Parliament, and a noted English brewer, says: "If we add together all the miseries generated by war, famine, and pestilence—the three great scourges of mankind—they do not exceed those that spring from this calamity."

Mr. Bruce, Home Secretary under the Gladstone ministry, says: "Intemperance is not only a great evil, but the greatest of all evils with which the social reformer has to contend."

Every man who knows past history and his own times understands that these statements are but feeble expressions of the truth of things as to this horrible evil. Our danger is in our familiarity with the appalling facts of the case; we say these things are all true, and go on as our fathers did, in a sort of dumb despair. Such statements do not startle us,

because we knew them before we heard them; we have all said these things to ourselves. Of the mental and moral habits that make it possible for some men to be stupidly calm in the knowledge of such things Coleridge says in one place, very aptly: ‘ Truths, of all others the most awful and interesting, are too often considered so true that they lose all the power of truth, and lie bedridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors.’

THE THING TO BE FEARED.

In dealing with the saloon—and in this discussion the word is now used as representing the entire traffic in intoxicants—the thing most to be feared is that the people do not fear it. They are used to it. As soldiers in war look on wounds and death till they grow hard of heart, so the people have become so familiar with the plague of drunkenness that it has become commonplace. They do not feel what they see, or truly understand what they know—that it ruins all it touches.

The evils of drunkenness furnish the argument for the necessity of prohibition for two reasons that cannot be gainsaid. First, allowing that some drinking begins and goes on independently of the saloon, it is yet substantially true that the drink habits that issue in drunkenness originate in the saloon and are fostered by it. Secondly, long experience demonstrates that these evils cannot be prevented while the saloon exists.

SAND-PILES FOR DYKES.

It is an old story. As far back as 1636 Plymouth colony, recognizing the relation between drinking-

places and drinking-habits, from an instinct of self-preservation, enacted a feeble sort of statute seeking to regulate and restrict the trade in intoxicants. For two hundred and fifty-one years society, in a hesitating and irresolute sort of way, has gone on enacting regulative and restrictive statutes, every one of which is bottomed upon the recognized evils that flow forth from the liquor traffic. It is enough—this two hundred and fifty-one years of effort to protect society by statutes that protect the liquor traffic rather than the people.

Such efforts are vain and worse, for license gives the sanction of the Government to a traffic that Christian conscience condemns as essentially evil, and so, by the force of custom, made possible by statute law and growing out of it, educates the people to call “evil good and good evil.”

Few worse calamities can come upon a people than to use statute law so as to forget or despise divine law. Yet it is just this calamity the people have brought upon themselves; they have, by giving through license laws the sanction of Government to what they know to be evil, confounded their sense of right and wrong. But this they have done with a sort of protest of conscience; they have pleaded with themselves, as condonement for deliberate wrong-doing, that their license-laws were regulative, restrictive, preventive, and in themselves tended to protect society against an evil that society itself made legal. To such logic have we come! As children, half in play and half in earnest, and not afraid in their ignorance, might gravely pile up little sand-heaps, imagined to be dykes against a swelling and angry sea!

It is doubtless the purpose of this Conference, in ordering a report on temperance and prohibition, not simply to declare its own position (that it has done before this time), but to do something toward fostering right opinion and sentiment among the people.

WILAT, THEN, DOES THE SALOON COST US?

• We begin on the lowest plane—that of money values. The lowest reputable estimate of the direct drink-bill of the people of this country is \$600,000,000 per annum; counting what goes for imported as well as American intoxicants, the highest estimate—and it is made with good reason—is \$900,000,000. This is not all, or most. The bill for “consequential damages” must come in, and it more than doubles the figures already named. What is lost to drunkards and drinkers in earning capacity; what society has to pay for inadequate protection against crimes that originate in drink and drunkenness; what it costs to support the multitudes made helpless through waste and disease, issuing from the drink habits of the people; what is lost to legitimate business—all this added together, as the highest authorities show, costs the American people nearly \$2,000,000,000 year by year. Such figures make us dizzy—as those that tell the distance of the fixed stars.

ALL THIS IS WASTED AND WORSE.

It is idle to answer that the makers and the dealers get it and it remains in the country. Who are these men who reap so vast a harvest out of the homes of the people, impoverishing millions that they may grow rich? All told, there are less than 600,000 men engaged in the liquor traffic, less than one to every one hundred of the whole population. And to these

the whole people pay this tribute of nearly \$2,000,000,000—a larger sum than any barbaric conquerer ever wrested from ravished and desolated Rome. As well say that because swindling lottery gamblers grow rich the money of their victims is not wasted. What goes for naught is wasted, no matter where it goes. There is no offset against this tremendous bill of costs; there is nothing to show for it; for intoxicants neither create energy nor add to it; they do not increase skill; they are not productive; they are destructive.

This bankrupt tax is levied on the whole people—not the drinking people alone. For what goes to this hurtful and wasting traffic is so much taken from useful business; the dollar spent for drink is a dollar less for food, for clothes, for homes, for education. This tax is paid to death, not to life.

Weak men who do not know, shrewd men who care only for their own gains talk of “hurting business” if we close the saloons. The statement is false; the liquor traffic is not business.

WHAT IS “BUSINESS?”

It is the sum total of a whole people’s useful industries and legitimate exchanges. The qualifying words are introduced because real business does not include products that are harmful, or exchanges that are without equivalents; else dynamite bomb-making for Haymarket massacres and secret assassinations would be manufacturing, and gambling would be a trade. As well class vampires with useful animals as to call the liquor traffic business.

WASTE THROUGH CREVASSES.

The liquor traffic is a storm center in finance, as well as in politics and morals. We seem to live in a

period of contradictions. It is a period of productive enterprise in all directions; the world was never so busy, never worked so hard or so efficiently, never earned so much. Labor never earned such good wages; wages could never buy so much of the really good things of life as now. Yet suffering increases, and so do the discontent and anger that follow suffering and precede Titanic outbreaks of violence. We need not go theorizing to find explanations when a sum equal to one-third of the whole annual profits of all business and earnings of all labor is wasted for drink and lost by its issues. Nine hundred millions for drink and more for damages; these are not leaks in a dam—they are crevasses when the Mississippi is at high flood. Inundations follow.

Not every wrong that pinches labor is due to the saloon; labor has a just complaint against exacting and oppressive monopolies. But if labor were free from the death-tax paid to the saloon, every other wrong could be remedied or borne. If what wage-earners waste in saloons were used to buy useful things, hard times would cease, and business would have in it such life, health, and equilibrium that not even the desperate gamblers of Wall Street could organize a panic.

THE "BIGGER MAN" IN POLITICS.

What does the saloon cost the country in politics and in government determined by politics? This is a large theme; it can only be touched upon here. To state fully the power of the saloon in politics requires a knowledge of the evil thing and its ways that no honest man can have. The saloons know their power, and use it to the utmost that opportunity allows.

Some years ago a bar-keeper in Richmond, Va., heard some talk of a reform movement in municipal politics. By instinct of self-preservation the saloon springs to arms at the mere thought of reform, and the Richmond saloonist laughed to scorn the fears of the more timid, and affirmed unshaken faith in his god: "Any bar-room in Richmond is a bigger man in politics than all the Churches put together." A leading Southern Senator, who is not a prohibitionist, and who voted against the insolent demands of the whisky ring, said to me in the Senate gallery in Washington, three winters ago: "Men talk of the power of banks, of railroads, and of other corporations in Congressional lobbies, but I tell you the hardest thing to stand up against here is the liquor ring."

Seeing what the liquor power has accomplished in national, state, and municipal legislation and administration; how it challenges the respectful attention and inspires the complaisant fears of the great parties, and has always done it; how it manipulates municipal government, whether in the great cities or small villages; how it packs Legislatures, town councils, and juries; how it subsidizes what newspapers it wants (or, when it cannot hire, sets up its own); how desperately hard it resists, fighting for its own with a Satanic skill and audacity that in a good cause would be magnificent; and how often and how completely it wins—there seems to be reason in the Senator's conclusion as well as truth in the bar-keeper's assertion.

To sum it up in a word, the saloon controls the marketable balance of power in politics. And there would rise up in the great, true hearts of the oppressed people a holy and quenchless fire of consum-

ing indignation if only once they really knew the evil and pitiless power that presses its iron hand hard against their throats. Dealing with the best liberties of the people, the saloon is as remorseless as the East Indian thug.

The influence of the liquor power in politics should not surprise us. It is rich, it fights for a great stake, and its vote is solid. Its gains are so enormous that it can afford to spend vast sums for the votes and favors it needs. Its vote-compelling gold is used by shrewd men, ripe in evil wisdom; they are unscrupulous, and hesitate at nothing they dare. Proud in conscious power, and relying upon the depravity of human nature, they will dare most things. As long as men are weak or wicked the liquor traffic will buy or compel what it wants.

OUR TYRANT HAS EVERY OPPORTUNITY.

The universal diffusion of the saloon secures an active, interested, and potent ally in every precinct. Elective affinities bring to the saloon and within the circle of its despotic power the very men it wants—the men who cast their ballots with the least intelligence, the least conscience, and for the lowest price. A pauper drunkard who can stand up long enough to deposit his ballot counts as much as the bishop or the chief-justice. This statement does not revile our American principle of universal suffrage, but it does show how necessary it is to guard with ceaseless vigilance and unflinching courage so great a power from perversion so easily accomplished and from results so utterly destructive of all that is good in our institutions.

IT IS BECAUSE WE ARE USED TO IT.

It is only custom that makes the existence of the saloon possible in a free country. If from the beginning our nation had been free from the liquor traffic's power in politics, and it should come down upon us in a day, it would convulse the people with indignant and expulsive energy. Every country neighborhood would rise in wrath against this mortal foe of good government. A million foreign soldiers, landing at Fortress Monroe and marching on the capital, would not shock or stir the people more profoundly. If done for the first time, no community, great or small, would recognize or submit to any election for any office, or upon any question, conducted under the auspices and determined by the power of the saloon. But we do submit to such things—submit without a word or consciousness of our bondage.

GREEDY AS THE GRAVE.

It cannot be necessary to dwell upon the relations of the liquor traffic to the morals of the people. As well repeat the multiplication table as to argue here that the saloon fosters every vice and wars upon every virtue of which human nature is capable. The vilest vender of intoxicants knows this, and when he speaks the truth he does not deny it. The saloon recognizes its evil nature; it never pleads any good it does as a reason for its existence; it has absolutely but one motive—money-getting. It lives upon the vices and weakness of men, and makes men weak and bad that it may extend its traffic and increase its gains.

Its greed is as insatiable as the grave. It adulterates the poison it sells with drugs yet more deadly, and makes the thirst of its victims a mere animal

rage that overturns the reason, sears the conscience, and paralyzes the will.

PECULIAR DANGERS NOW.

What is universally true of the liquor traffic, in its relations to public and private virtue, becomes more alarming on account of certain peculiar conditions in our national life at the present time. It is not too much to say that we live in a time when opportunity is only equaled by the perils that come with it. The country is growing rich and populous as no country ever grew before. Thousands upon thousands of foreigners come every year to our shores, among them some of the excellent of the earth, and they are welcome; but there are many other thousands who bring to America only evil. They are re-enforcements to the evils that already curse us, and by instinct join forces with the saloon as soon as they pass the doors of Castle Garden. In the North and West the worst element in this foreign life gives to the saloon a large increment of evil influence. In this evil element of foreign life are the germs of anarchy and all the disorders that grow out of atheism.

In the Southern States are about seven millions of Negroes; most of them are very ignorant and very poor. From the time of their emancipation the saloon has sought to foster in them drinking-habits. Its success has been as great as it has been easy, and to-day in the South the saloon finds steady customers in the ignorant of this unhappy race. In their deep poverty they buy the cheapest and therefore the worst liquors, and reap with short delay all the evils of drunkenness.

"SOUTH BEND DISTRICT."

Here the exception illustrates if it does not prove the rule. In the recent election in Fulton County every precinct save one voted with the saloon. The press reporter felt called upon to explain to the county why South Bend district alone voted to close the bar-rooms. "In this district," he said, "is located Clark University, a college for colored people, and they voted for prohibition." As a rule everywhere the uneducated vote is anti-prohibition. Judge the power of the saloon in Southern politics, imperiled by so great and ignorant a colored vote, made stronger for evil by the shameful illiteracy of tens of thousands of white men.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

There is but one answer: In all right ways we must fight the liquor power wherever and whenever we find it. The end we seek is deliverance from the curse of drunkenness. As not only helpful but indispensable to this end, we purpose the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors. This cannot be done in a day, or by the short-lived enthusiasm of a hot campaign. Our enemy is old, and he is strong. His dethronement will not be an easy task; it may take a long time. We must use all the resources we now command, and diligently gather more for future contests.

First, second, and last, we must teach not only the right of prohibition and the iniquity of the liquor traffic; we must also teach the evils of drunkenness—not merely the infirmity and the disease of it, but the sin of it. And we must make plain the peril of the drink habit itself. We must teach our people not only the waste of drunkenness, but the spiritual

death that follows it; nor must we forget to show to those who are in the coils of this deadly sin that only the grace of God gives assurance of deliverance, and we must show them that the gospel of Jesus Christ can save unto the uttermost—can save even the victims of drunkenness.

We must use all opportunities and agencies that in themselves are right. In the pulpit and on the platform, in volume and pamphlet and newspaper, in the day-school and in the Sunday-school, and, above all, in the family, we must teach the truth in all that belongs to the subject.

Your committee, in behalf of the Conference, desire at this place to assert the right and duty of every patriot, of every Christian man, woman, and child, by all right methods, to seek the suppression of the liquor traffic.

We gratefully recognize the work of our noble women in what has already been done in the work of prohibition through their instrumentality. We bid them Godspeed, willing to trust their good sense and modesty to guard them against methods unbecoming to them and harmful to the cause, and against the impolicy of entanglement with other and extraneous issues.

A PREACHER'S RIGHT.

Your committee must emphasize the right of Christian ministers to take an active part in the prohibition movement of our times. We believe that they will thus do God's work in the saving of souls. We have heard the imprecations of unkindly men; they do not trouble us. We may trust our preachers to know their own business better than the saloon men, and to

be quite as much concerned in preserving their ministerial honor. Our preachers are not intermeddlers when they seek to accomplish prohibition. They are not politicians in any sense that carries odium with the term when they seek to persuade the people to vote for prohibition.

NEITHER PEACE NOR TRUCE.

We can make no peace with the saloon; nay, we can make no terms with it. It is evil, only evil, and that continually. It is the natural enemy of the great forces and principles that have evolved and that sustain our civilization. It hates the Sabbath because good Christian conscience and good public policy make Sunday liquor-selling illegal and punishable. It is the enemy of the home, for when boys are contented at home they will not spend their time and money in the saloon. It is the enemy of education, for education abridges its power to delude the people. It is the enemy of the Church, for religion does not patronize it or make peace with it. It is the enemy of the Bible, for it is the inspiration of every movement that enlightens, lifts up, and makes free its victims.

On no ground can we make peace with the liquor traffic; this war must go on to the end. Great progress has been made; there is greater before us. To our brethren who have succeeded in closing the drink-shops we tender congratulations. To those who have failed we say: Be of good cheer; organize for another and better-planned battle. We tell them to make no compromises—press the battle to the gates. This other word we say to all our people in this holy war: Be as calm as you are earnest. Use fair means

only; you cannot fight the devil with fire—he is master in his native element. Our cause needs not the language of passion; maledictions are not arguments. Of all men we cannot afford to be bitter in spirit, unfair in argument, or corrupt in the use of means. We must fight a pure battle—one that we may pray over, and that our Lord may bless.

This war will outlast our life-time. Be it so. We will fight to the end, and hand down to our children a cause that cannot die. And always and everywhere in this holy war let us remember who is the Captain of our host, and seek to do the things that are always pleasing to him. With him leading our host we cannot fail.

Your committee submit the following resolutions:

“1. *Resolved*, That the North Georgia Annual Conference anew pledges itself to the doctrine of the prohibition by law of the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

“2. That we pledge ourselves to do what we can to secure efficient prohibition within our borders.

“3. That, in order to secure this result, we will continue to teach our people what be the Bible doctrines concerning the perils of dram-drinking and the sin and ruin of drunkenness.

“ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, *Chairman.*”

THE DUTY OF THE SOUTH.

The Georgia of To-day and the Georgia of To-morrow.

[Emory College Commencement-day, June 27, 1888.]
Gentlemen of the Few and Phi Gamma Societies:

I OWE no apology for appearing on this platform where I have so often stood. I did not volunteer this service. As to the young gentlemen who invited me to speak, I bear them witness that they did their best to get somebody else to make the annual address. The seven famous men who were invited before me, and who one after another made excuses, they, not I, not the young men, are responsible for your disappointment. When the boys struck me they had run out their line; the time was nearly up; they frankly said: "It is you or nobody." As a matter of course when it came to this I surrendered. I felt immensely complimented that the boys thought of me when they could not get the men they naturally wanted. They knew that I could not dishonor a draft, although at sight, by the old mother, our loved Emory College. I am here because I love the college, and serve her when I can.

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW.

This evening I am going to talk to you of Georgia --the Georgia of to-day and to-morrow. At this time, except in the briefest way, I do not speak of yesterday. Let those who know how and have time dig among the tombs, or even build tombs if they will. This

sort of work is important, but all have not gifts for it. "Let every man abide in his calling" is an apostolic maxim. I do no dishonor to the great and good dead if I think most of the living. There have been great statesmen, writers, workers, soldiers, and preachers. We will best honor their memory by emulating their virtues and taking our best care of the great heritage they have left us. Their teachings we will consider and, so far as they fit our case, observe. But the dead cannot advise us concerning the facts of our own time. When their opinions contradict the facts we must go by the facts. He makes the worst use of the wisdom of his fathers who seeks to force their opinions to fit conditions the fathers did not know, and to harmonize with facts that, known by the fathers, would have changed their opinions.

THE REVOLUTION.

What our Yankee friends are pleased to call "the great rebellion," what most Southern people speak of as "the Confederate movement" was really a tremendous revolution that shook the civilized world. Few have been the political convulsions that effected changes so many or so radical. It modified the form of our Government, and affected profoundly our civil, social, and industrial life. When this tidal-wave subsided we were confronted with problems that no people ever faced before. History could not guide us—there were no analogies.

These problems were manifold and hard to solve. Pessimists who allow small play, if any, for the providence of God in human affairs affirm that they can in no wise be solved, but that evil conditions will wax worse and worse till chaos comes. The sources of

such gloomy predictions are hardly worth tracing; but one thing I have observed: The men who make them are the men who are doing nothing to prevent the evils that they profess to foresee.

The problems that grew inevitably out of the new conditions that followed the revolution were given to the whole nation, but the complications that grew out of them were most sorely felt in the Southern section of the Union.

As long ago as 1782, we are told, Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, contemplating the far future of his country, wrote these words concerning the Negro race: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same country."

It was natural enough that the great Jefferson made both of these predictions. As to the first, it was perhaps an intuition; as to the second, it was an inference from his studies in France. He knew more of French philosophy than of Christianity. If this country had been pagan Rome or infidel France, his first prediction would have failed—the slaves would never have been made free by the will of man. As this is a Christian, and not a pagan or infidel country, the first prediction was fulfilled, and because it is a Christian country the second prediction will fall to the ground.

My friends tell me sometimes that I am an optimist. A wise man will stand between the extremes, but, if one must choose, the folly of optimism is better than the bitterness and cowardice of pessimism.

Thus far I confess to optimism—the faith that believes in the kingdom of God and the hope that is born of an unchanging trust in the divine Providence that in loving wisdom rules the universe.

What these peculiar problems were that the close of the revolution urged upon us I have neither time nor inclination to discuss at this hour. Several millions who had been slaves and who were ignorant were at once made free men, and presently citizens, in a country governed by the ballot.

We have now been engaged, after a fashion, for twenty-three years in learning how to adjust ourselves to the new condition of life. We may have blundered sadly and to our own hurt, but we have done better than most middle-aged people in 1865 believed that we could ever do. We have had many troubles, but the worst things predicted have not come upon us. Both races have done better than history justified us in expecting. Neither has done as well under these trying conditions as Christianity made possible, and therefore a duty.

This rapid glance of the events of the last twenty-three years I have indulged in in order that we may with better results consider the duties of to-day and to-morrow. What have been alluded to are matters to be kept in mind only. I do not discuss them now and here. Remembering these things may help us to consider more earnestly and intelligently some thoughts concerning the welfare of Georgia that I wish to submit at this time. Though I speak to you especially of Georgia, what may be true of Georgia is substantially true of other Southern States.

If you ask me now of Georgia's future, I answer:

MORE DEPENDS ON THE MEN THAN ON THE LAND.

Men have made meager lands rich and great; they have made broad and fertile lands poor and mean. History and observations will furnish illustrations. God made the Valley of the Euphrates the garden-spot of the world; degenerate and unworthy men have made it a desolation. Asia Minor is by nature one of the finest countries on the globe; the "unspeakable Turk" and the savages who went before him have made it poor and wretched.

Switzerland is cramped, mountainous, rugged; its men have made it a noble name in history; its civilization is high; the world loves it for its beauty and its virtues. The patient Hollanders have reclaimed from the cruel sea what is now the best part of their country, and a sea-marsh they have turned into a garden of delights. Switzers and Hollanders have prevailed over adverse nature by courage, industry, intelligence, good morals, and the civil order to which these virtues gave birth. What a difference do we behold! In one case foolish and wicked men have conquered generous nature and spoiled the rich inheritance she offered them; on the other they have conquered reluctant nature and turned her meager gifts into the richest dowry.

Your reading—I may say your observation also—will furnish other and ample illustrations, for what is true of races and nations is true also of families and individuals. Go where you may, and note the differences in conditions that meet the eye. Consider what you will find in any county in Georgia. Here are two farms side by side, equally good in natural conditions. The one has yielded comfort, fortune,

prosperity; the other has been cheated by the unworthy owner till it has lost its power to bless. A lane, a brook, a mere rail fence divides them; the difference is in the men, not in the soil. On one side are intelligence, industry, economy, virtue, and success; on the other ignorance, indolence, extravagance, failure. Wherefore, I say, more depends on the men than on the land.

But I do not wish to speak half-truths—"worse than whole heresies"—to you. Much depends on the land also. Nature never intended some countries to breed great races or prosperous peoples. In Greenland men do well in their hard battle with darkness, cold, and sterility if they continue to exist. Desert sands cannot afford the conditions that allow the growth of rich and populous nations. Extreme cold, extreme heat, lofty mountains, or flat malarial valleys are alike unfriendly to the best forms of human life. But if some men with such small natural advantages have done so well that history marvels at them, what ought we of Georgia to do, to whom generous nature offers every advantage and every opportunity?

If you follow from Savannah—our beautiful city by the sea—the thirty-second parallel of latitude, it will carry you through Palestine—God's gift to his chosen people. Palestine was never such a country as this. In variety of soils and climates, in natural productions and resources Georgia is rich above her sisters. She is rich in timber and minerals, in water-power, in nearly all fruits and grains common to civilized life, in healthful air and good water—in a word, in all the materials and conditions for building up a great and prosperous State. In some one particular other States may

surpass Georgia; I know not one that can match the wide and important variety of her resources. I cannot now make out the list—it contains all that man and beast can want for their highest development.

WHAT HAVE WE DONE WITH OUR INHERITANCE?

How have we used this great gift of God? No intelligent man is satisfied with our progress, or believes that we are doing half as well as we ought to do. It is dense ignorance or blind prejudice—perhaps both, as they are twin sisters—that will affirm that Georgia has been fairly or even intelligently dealt with by her children.

It is now twenty-three years since we began life under the new conditions that followed the revolution. It is time that we had settled some questions as to business methods and public policy. I am not certain that we have settled any one question, or so much as studied it with painstaking care. But there are some things that we should have found out without study, that the mere lapse of time should have taught us, that the logic of events should have forced upon our apprehension.

Some things that seem clear to me I mention at this time—giving conclusions rather than arguments. One thing clear to me is that Georgia cannot reach prosperity by a happy stroke of genius or good luck. The sort of prosperity that means a blessing to Georgia cannot be boomed into existence. No syndicate—no association of mere money-owners—can bring prosperity of a sort that will stay by us. Immigration societies, land improvement companies, railroad developers, and builders of one sort and another—all these have their uses, but at last prosperity must

come through growth from within, and not by mere accretion from without. Nor can Georgia prosper by merely trading in what other people have produced. Prosperity cannot be brought to us; we must produce it.

For illustration of my meaning, consider what a new railroad may do for a county hitherto without one—as Jasper, for example, now rejoicing in daily trains. The railroad may bring prosperity to Jasper, or it may not. It depends on the people of Jasper County. If Jasper is really enriched by the railroad, it will not be because it brings into Jasper more things than her people buy, but because it will stimulate the people of Jasper to produce more things that other people want to buy. A road that only increases wants without increasing productive capacity makes poor. The balance of trade may be against a county as well as a country. If a community buys more than it produces, it will become poor and it will some day be bankrupt. Whatever creates wants faster than it develops capacity to supply them makes people not poor only, but, what is worse, unhappy also. The first effect of a railroad, like the first effect of education, is to increase wants. The new road makes finer clothes and finer furniture necessary, and many things are wanted whose names were not so much as known till the new order came. A railroad makes life harder, unless it makes life more productive. And so does every advanced step in what we call civilization. Herein we find one secret of the world's miseries; the conditions of life in our time keep our wants always just ahead of our capacity to supply them.

If we dig down to the bottom of the question, we will strike rock on this proposition: The true and permanent prosperity of a State or nation depends upon what the people are, and upon what they do. I speak of the whole people, for no country is truly prosperous in which a few steadily grow richer and the mass steadily grows poorer.

ISMAIL'S FAILURE.

The late Khedive of Egypt, Ismail Pasha, furnished to our times a great and instructive object-lesson, whose meaning cannot be mistaken. He was fired, I doubt not, with a great and patriotic ambition to lift up his country. His radical and fatal mistake was in supposing that the appliances of civilization could civilize Egypt, although Egypt lacked the conditions of civilization. As well expect to make an old man young by putting new clothes on him. The Khedive threw himself with passionate ardor into the construction of vast public works. Solomon himself was not more bold in design or prodigal in outlay. He expended vast sums of money in constructing railroads and great manufacturing establishments. The finest machinery made in Europe and America was transported to the banks of the Nile; new and splendid cities sprung up as if by magic; railways were carried through deserts; the greatest work of engineering of our times—the construction of the Suez Ship Canal, connecting the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean—was accomplished by the union of French genius, European gold, and Egyptian muscle. But all these gigantic enterprises failed to make Egypt great and prosperous. A few men, at the expense of the many, gained huge fortunes, but the country was

ground to dust under exorbitant taxation and the increased cost of living. Production lagged behind expenditure, and the people—the great body of the common people, the stay and hope of every nation—grew poorer and more miserable year after year. The poor *fellahin* were, in the very midst of Ismail's splendid enterprise, the most pitiable and abject of the world's toiling poor. And we have seen, as the result of this misdirected energy, the country bankrupt, the revenues of Egypt controlled in the interest of foreign bondholders, an all-consuming mortgage foreclosed upon a whole people, and Ismail himself a helpless and broken pensioner upon the bounty of his creditors. After all, the best work he did was in the founding of a few schools and colleges here and there. So it may yet come to pass that the work Ismail did that was not designed to create wealth will, after awhile, become the source of new life to Egypt, and lift from this land of mystery the curse of ancient prophecy. It may be that, after all, this half-heathen Mohammedan prince may have had some glimpse of the relation between education and prosperity—a relation that Georgia perceives but imperfectly, if at all.

THE FARM THE BOTTOM FACT.

Literary people may think it too commonplace for a Commencement address, but I will venture to say that the bottom fact to be considered in gauging the prosperity of the country is the farm. If cities grow and farms go down, it is growth that exhausts and eventually destroys. I understand distinctly that no country can truly prosper that has not diversified industries, but I understand quite as well that no coun-

try that nature has fitted for agriculture can do well if agriculture runs down. As to Georgia, it is time for us to understand that no matter in what other directions enterprise prospers for a time, nothing can long prosper if our farming interests fail. I do not share the despairing views of the late Governor Stephens that Georgia farmers grow poorer day by day. The facts do not warrant this gloomy view. A careful comparison of the reports of the comptroller-general through the last two decades shows real progress. But it is small—smaller than it should be; smaller than it would be if we, the people, were as good as our land and climate.

What is the explanation of this state of things? It is not expected that a preacher should understand these things. Judge, then, of the gravity of the case, when even a preacher may recognize the facts and mention some things so obvious that no man can deny them.

One misconception I would like to remove at the outset of my remarks on this point. Our slow progress is not explained by the village idler who denounces the "nigger" because he won't work. If these same "niggers" worked no more than their critics, Georgia would have gone into general bankruptcy long ago. I know the Negro as thoroughly as any of you; I know his failings; but if his critics worked even as hard as he does, Georgia would grow rich.

UNIVERSAL IMPORTERS.

We do not produce enough. We buy too much that we can cheaply raise at home. We import every thing but cotton. What Horace Greeley said of Texas

is nearly true of Georgia. He said, years ago, that the Texans could raise any thing they needed, yet imported every thing they used. He ventured the opinion that if they knew the value of blackberries they would import them. We import every thing—from locomotives to tooth-picks. Take the average Georgia farm to-day. Mules, horses, wagons, plows, reapers, harness, hame-strings, ax-handles, canned peaches, and a thousand other things are brought from other States. Hay-stacks are in the West; corn-cribs, wheat-bins, smoke-houses are there also. Coming to Commencement, I saw at Lithonia, over a shop door, in huge letters, "Chicago Beef." Fertilizers are imported by men whose cows sleep in the big road in front of his gate—the richest spot on his farm. Every thing inside the house, and every thing outside that could be found abroad, is imported. We will make nothing we can pay a stranger to make for us, whether we want hair-pins or bustles, baby carriages or road wagons. We are even willing to import endowments for our colleges.

What is produced to buy all this? Cotton at eight cents a pound—losing nearly as much to Wall Street sharks by "futures" as we receive for actual sales. If proof is needed that our farming interests are in bad case, it is near at hand, and it is conclusive: the almost universal eagerness to get away from the farm. The majority who stick to the farm do so because they can't get away. The country seeks the city. Men crowd into the professions and seek "situations," thousands esteeming it more honorable to sell ribbons and pins over a counter at thirty dollars a month than to make an independent, if a plain, living on

the old homestead. In answer to all this we are told "farming don't pay."

ONE BOSS TO ONE HAND.

I say that it depends on the farmer. A white boy with an umbrella bossing one black boy plowing a mule bought on a credit cannot make farming pay, especially if he wants to mortgage a possible crop to buy a cheap Ohio buggy for his summer drives. If farming does not pay, then for the whole people nothing is paying. Shall we change the proposition, and say: "Farming not only don't pay, but can't be made to pay?" If it is simply, "don't pay," it may be our fault, and there is a remedy. If "farming can't pay," then the end is near by. This view, if maintained, would prove too much. It would be a reason for expatriation; in such a case the only sensible thing to do is for every man to rise up and leave a country doomed to desolation, and go to some country where farming can be made to pay. What is the trouble with us?

It is twenty-three years since Appomattox. It is time that our failures, if nothing else, had taught us some things. The question I raise is a hard one. I do not assume that I can answer it, but some things I know that point toward the answer. Some of them I speak of to-day. Few of you may approve my views. I am trained to that. I must tell you what I believe to be the truth. History will vindicate what I now advance. Whether we agree or not, we should, in 1888, think without passion and reason without prejudice.

HAND TO MOUTH.

1. As a people we have not dealt philosophically, or

even fairly, with the new facts. We have had no comprehensive and enlightened policy. We have not adjusted our plans to free labor with a broad, clear recognition of the difference between free and slave labor. If we are dealing with free labor, by so much as we seek to approximate our methods to those that were efficient in dealing with slave labor, by so much we fail. In such a case failure is not an accident; it is ordained in the very nature of things. For the past twenty-three years we have had no system of dealing with free labor that was adapted to free labor. We have no such system to-day. We have used mere hand-to-mouth expedients; our prevision does not extend beyond the crop season.

2. We have, perhaps, the poorest substitute for a tenant-farmer system that was ever devised. Take the case of the ordinary cropper—whether a white or a black man—with his “one-third” or “one-fourth” of the crop, according to the conditions of the trade. His interest is to get all he can out of the land and to put as little on it, or in it, as possible. It is for a year only. The landlord is in like case; his interest is to get all out of the tenant that he can. If these two do not cheat each other, they are perfect men. It is a case of skinning on both sides; both are at it, and both succeed. Each gets the other’s hide and loses his own.

The one-year cropper and the one-year landlord—these two are natural enemies.

It is said by many very positively: “There cannot be a longer lease than the one-year part of the crop plan in the South.” Possibly, though I do not believe it; nobody can prove it, for it has not been

tried. The land-poor landlord and the half-skinned tenant—these two go from bad to worse.

NEW HEADS MORE THAN NEW HANDS.

Some are talking about seeking immigration from other countries, as the one cure for all our troubles. It is not new hands, but new heads that for the most part we need. A one-year, hand-to-mouth system of farming would fail with any labor under the sun. I am not opposed to any rational plan of encouraging immigration in natural lines; but I am very much in favor of some plan for preventing emigration. We had better try to keep our own people at home. I like them better than any foreigners who can come to us. I like our own people—our Georgia kith and kin who are leaving us for the West—better than any strangers who can come.

When I see train-loads of them leaving Atlanta for Texas and Arkansas then I know that Georgia suffers grievous loss. Compare these people with Swedes, Danes, Italians, and other foreigners, who neither know our institutions nor care for our religion, and tell me which man you prefer for your neighbor. I do not forget the Georgia Negro; he is the best of his race, and his is the best labor we will ever get in this country. You shake your head at this. Perhaps you would like to try the Chinese. Ask the Californians what they know on this subject.

SETTLE OUR OWN.

We need to make it possible for the landless people among us to procure homes, far more than invite landless strangers here. Settle your own landless people—the white and the black people—as cheaply as you will have to sell to strangers if you ever get

them here, and you will presently quadruple the number of land-owners and home-owners and in five years double the value of property. Worthy and capable Negroes should be encouraged to buy homes and little farms as they are able to pay for them. Why? For their sake and ours. It will make the Negro a better citizen and a better neighbor, and he is both and will so continue to be. Society takes hostages of him for good order as soon as he owns an acre of land. He becomes the sworn enemy of tramps and communists. Prejudice, because it is blind, spurns these views. I leave them to the vindication of the future and its unfoldings. Public policy, or general custom, that has only prejudice to back it is as fatal as it is foolish. The blessed law of mortality will bring this remedy.

HOW TO GET IMMIGRANTS.

"But we must have immigration," you tell me. Very well; I will tell you how to get it and the only way. You will, perhaps, disagree with me. Be it so; think it out for yourself, then. You will admit, I suppose, that immigration does not come by the method most in vogue—decrying "nigger" labor and discussing, in front of village stores, the relative merits of foreigners that you forget you can't hire for from eight to ten dollars a month. This method of securing immigration we have nearly exhausted.

1. The common notion that immigrants avoid us because of the presence of the Negro does not meet the case. Negroes are in Texas; emigrants by the hundred thousand are pouring into Texas. Last summer in the Brazos bottoms, where Negroes are in the majority, I saw thousands of foreigners. It is

time for white people who can read to post themselves, and find out a few facts outside their militia districts. If we want immigration, we must make Georgia attractive to those who are seeking homes.

2. First and last, we must take some pains to let the world know what Georgia has to offer. Last April I thoughtlessly wrote my name in an immigration office register in Austin, Tex. In ten days a score of circulars and pamphlets were in my office in Decatur. They have been coming ever since. One came last Friday. One agent offered to sell me good land on five years' time, to give me a home rent free the first year, and to lend me a good horse. These circulars tell me every thing a home-hunter wants to find out.

3. If we are to secure immigration, somehow we must make it reasonably easy for home-hunters to make settlements. If people can get better lands in Texas cheaper than they can get worse lands in Georgia, they will go to Texas unless we offer other considerations as an offset.

4. It is more than worth mentioning that if we really want immigration we must take more pains to make these who come feel at home among us.

5. If we wish to secure immigrants of the better class, we must let the world know by our deeds, not by mere words, that we enforce law.

LYNCHING.

No thoughtful stranger will naturally prefer to settle in a country where lynch-law is too common to shock the sensibilities of the natives. Some people imagine that lynching does not hurt the State. There they are mistaken; it does hurt—hurts terribly. We

are accustomed to speak of "lynch-law," but there is no such thing; lynching is lawlessness. In a country unorganized and without government individuals must punish violations of natural law. There is no other way. But this is not civilization; it is at best barbarism. In organized society lynching is a crime against society. It is not a question as to what the victim deserves; it is a question as to what society can afford.

In organized society there is no higher civil or social duty than obedience to law; the lyncher is of all men the violator of law. Lynching is a crime against God and man. The man put to death may be the vilest wretch, but those who lynch him are criminals. They break the law, they defy it, they despise it, they put it to open shame.

Punishment by Government, according to law, represents the judgment of God; punishment by lynching is vengeance. Legal punishment educates men into respect for law; lynching educates them into contempt for it. Lynching does more to put down law than any criminal it takes in hand; lynching kills a man; the lyncher kills the law that protects life; lynching is anarchy.

If a Government is so bad or weak that it will not, or cannot, enforce the law, the remedy is not lynching; it is revolution. If one private citizen has no moral or civil right to put a man to death, a hundred banded together have not the right. And why the hundred banded together? To overawe and overpower law. Lynching is conscious of its lawlessness, and seeks protection in masks and numbers. The Government that winks at lynching is vicious; the

Government that does not care is foolish; the Government that cannot put it down is weak as well as foolish.

BETTER SCHOOLS.

6. If we really wish immigration and understand at all what influences control people who are seeking homes, we will make haste to provide better public schools. No State that pays a pitiful salary to incompetent teachers, from two to three months in the year, can in this day of newspapers and diffused intelligence expect to secure immigrants who know enough to be desirable.

Our school system on paper is good enough; in practice it is monstrous in its inefficiency. We have, in pure ignorance and pure stinginess, starved it into emaciation; and then, with conscious and indignant virtue, denounced its weakness.

Our attitude toward the public school is irrational. We say we must have it, but fail to provide for it. No man going before the people on a platform proposing to abolish the public school could be elected to any office. We have made just enough of it to paralyze private schools, but not enough of it to substitute them. Our children are growing up in ignorance, while we starve the schools in the name of economy, and in our short-sighted parsimony make certain increasing poverty for the coming generation.

The common school in Georgia is in sad case. The State starves it, and not a few Church people stone it with arguments that do not so much as intimate the least purpose to put something in its place. The State rebukes the Church for the bigotry of its op-

position, praises the public school in reports, but never fails to starve it when appropriations are made.

It is a painful thing to hear—it is more painful to say—that Georgia's reputation is not good as to her treatment of public schools. We can do better; it will be a bitter shame if we do not. We are too poor to do without the public school. The majority of the people are too poor to educate their own children, but the whole people are not too poor to educate the children of the whole people.

The elementary education of the children of the whole people is the duty of the State. It is the common interest, the common necessity, as well as the common defense. And the very argument that makes it the duty of the State to provide, at public expense, for the elementary education of the people forbids the State, at public expense, to give to the few who seek it free college or university education.

At this place, as well as at any other, I wish to say that Georgia, in her use of public money, in carrying on public business, has not shown an enlightened and broad-minded public policy, but a very narrow and mean money-saving policy. Economy in the public service is a very great virtue, but parsimony is a very great folly.

STATE PARSIMONY.

There is no waste of public money like that which comes of not using enough money to get the people's business efficiently done. A great State like Georgia, that in the year 1888 pays its Governor \$3,000 a year, when he ought to spend that much in hospitality as the representative of the people; that pays its supreme court judges \$3,000 per annum—the decisions

of our highest court not being authority outside our borders; that pays its circuit judges \$2,000, requiring them to pay their traveling expenses, when such salary cannot, long at a time, command men fitted for this most important office; that pays its prosecuting attorneys so little that in most cases the office is only sought by ambitious boys as a stepping-stone to something better; that leases its convicts to private citizens, not because it is best for the convicts or the people, but because it is cheapest; that compels physicians to give expert testimony and refuses so much as to pay for their time; that starves its public schools into pitiable inefficiency—such a State is in a very bad way as to its public affairs and very badly governed by the people. Parsimony is not economy; it is waste. It is bad education and it is failure. On the lines that we have followed Georgia cannot so much as hold her own; let her surrender, before it is torn from her, her title of “Empire State of the South.” Our present constitution in relation to the use of money in carrying on the public work is the result of a most extraordinary conjunction of political stars. It is the resultant of an ignorance that mistook parsimony for economy and an aristocratic temper and feudal sentiment that only rich men should hold office.

Georgia has no worse enemy than the ignorant legislator who in the name of the poor votes always against appropriations, or for the lowest figures, not because it is best for the people, but because it is the lowest figure, and deceives men as ignorant as he is tricky into re-electing him—as a small watch-dog of the treasury.

We are in a bad case as to our Legislature. Somehow it has come to pass that it is difficult to secure a capable General Assembly. If we need our best men anywhere, it is in the Legislature; but, with few exceptions, they are not there.

CHEAPENING THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

It is difficult to induce the best men to consent to be candidates. We have cheapened the legislative functions of government; we have run it down; we have degraded it. We have done this in two ways:

1. We have, in many cases, sent inferior men to the Legislature.

2. We have ridiculed the legislators we have made, pouring contempt on the work of our own hands. We have lost respect for our law-making power, because we know we have cheapened and degraded it. And the process is steadily a downward one. As we cease to respect the Legislature, we become careless as to who represents us. When the best man in any county in Georgia does not feel it to be an honor to represent his people in the General Assembly it is proof that we have reached a most humiliating and deplorable state of public opinion and sentiment as to that body of men that most perfectly represents the sovereignty of the people.

If Georgia has a worse enemy than the nickel-saving legislator, it is the small editor who makes the Legislature the target of his small wit from the day it assembles till the day it adjourns. These small people keep the best men out of the Legislature and do the State infinite harm by degrading the public service.

THE OLD DEBATES.

I most solemnly believe that many of the evil conditions of which I speak are due to ignorance. The average in Georgia is not high. The last census showed, in 1880, an illiterate white vote of 28,671. I fear that 1890 will show that this vote is increased. Among people who can read even there is not general information or thorough knowledge of public affairs, or of the principles of government. There never will be such thorough knowledge in a State where the *status* of the political parties puts public debate out of the question. In this respect at least "the former days were better than these." When I was a boy I heard such men as Charles Dougherty, Howell Cobb, and Alexander H. Stephens, Herschel V. Johnson, Ben Hill, or Dr. Miller discuss on the same platform great public questions. There were debates in those days that enlightened the people. The best men were put forward by their respective parties. The public offices were not rewards for organizing primaries. It was an honor to go to the Legislature. A member of Congress was a man of note. When we got a good one we kept him till he was a "master of assemblies." It was then a question between parties and not between two men, one in and one out, for difference and ground of debate. We have lost our training-school, the old-fashioned barbecue, and the joint debate has gone from us, and skill in wire-pulling has usurped the place of power in argument. Statesmen give place to demagogues, the debaters are gone, the caucus bosses are upon us. But these evils will come to an end; they will cure themselves. The great body of the people are true to righteous-

ness. They will take affairs into their own hands; they will put aside mere time-servers; they will restore to Georgia the honor she deserves and win anew for the State we all love the proud and deserved title, the "Empire State of the South."



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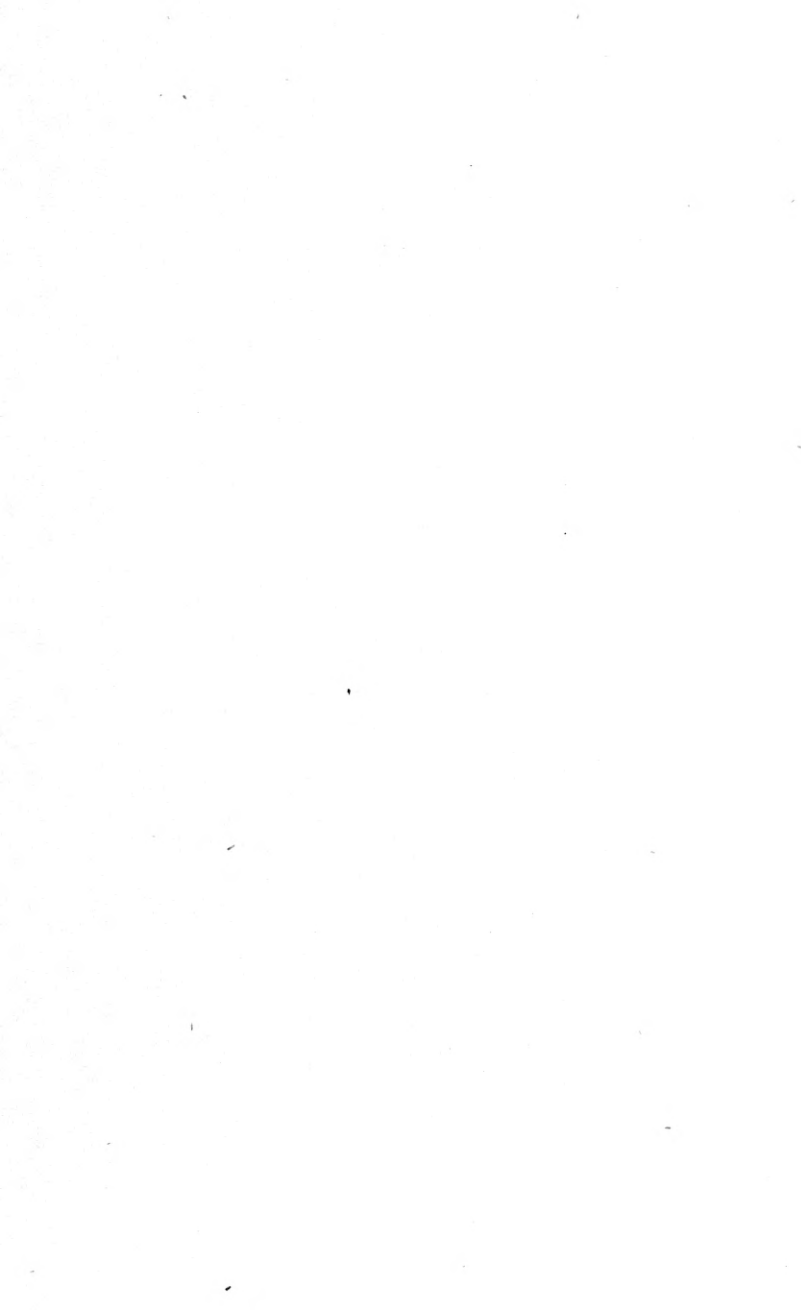
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